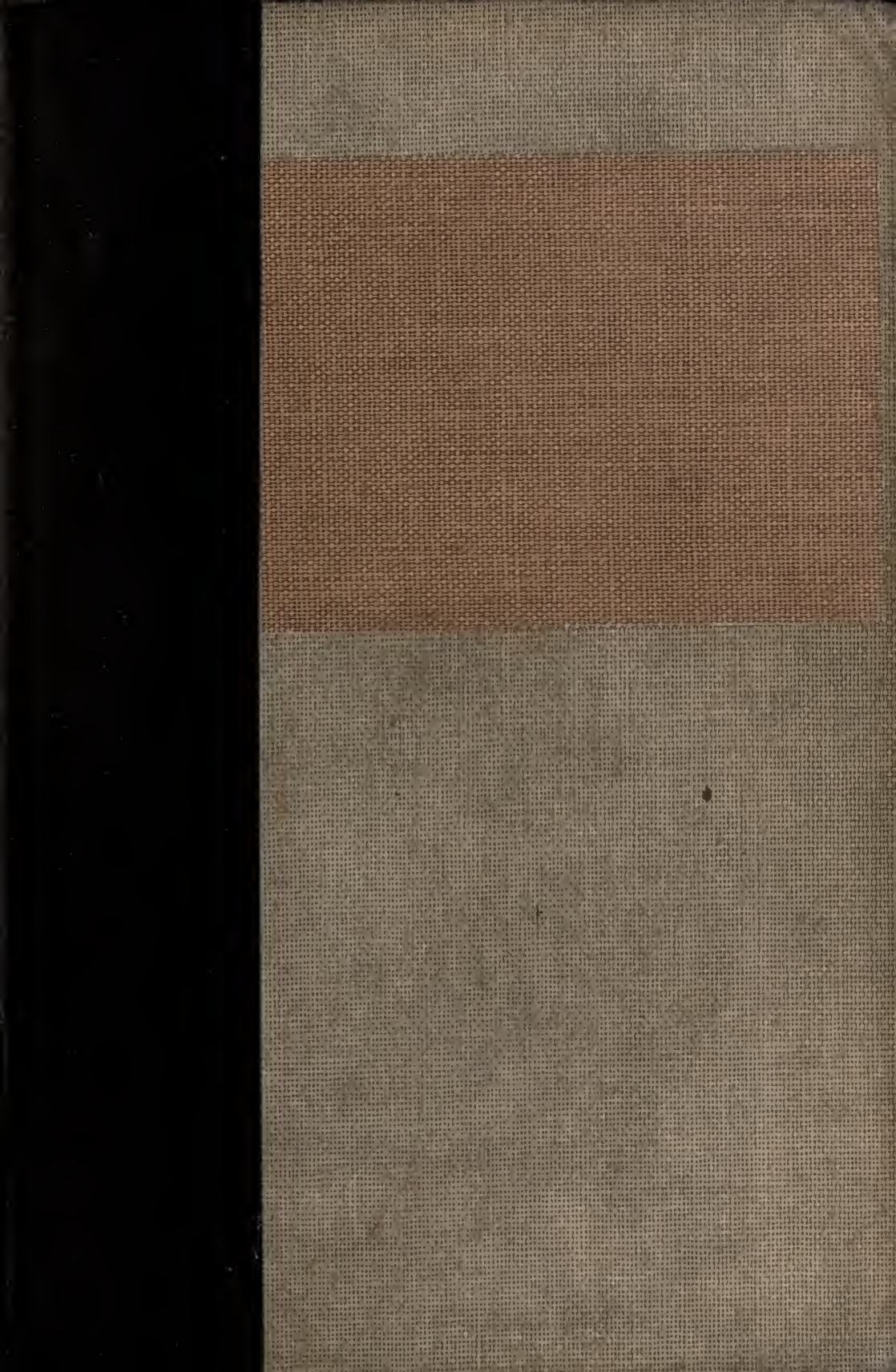
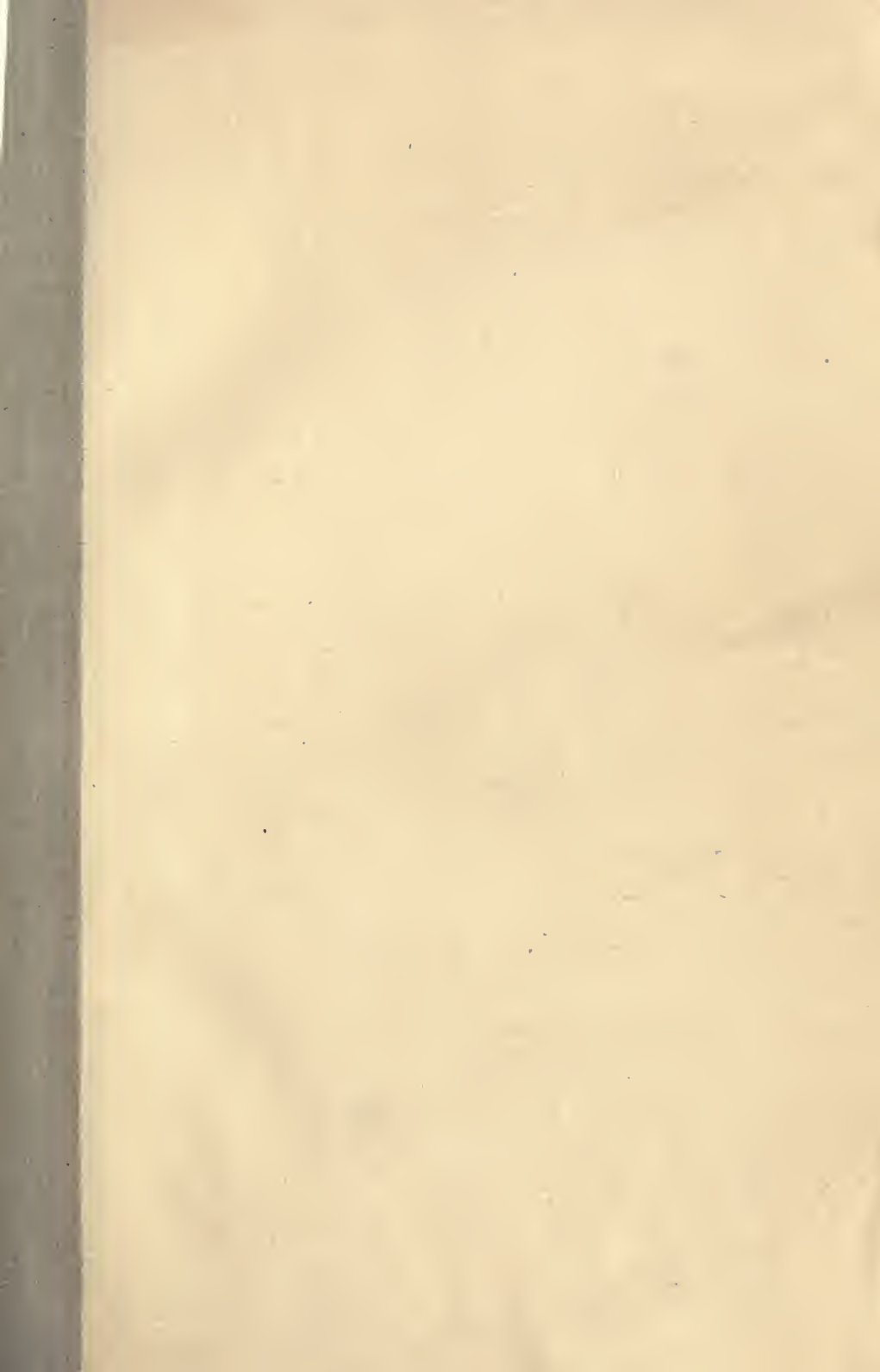


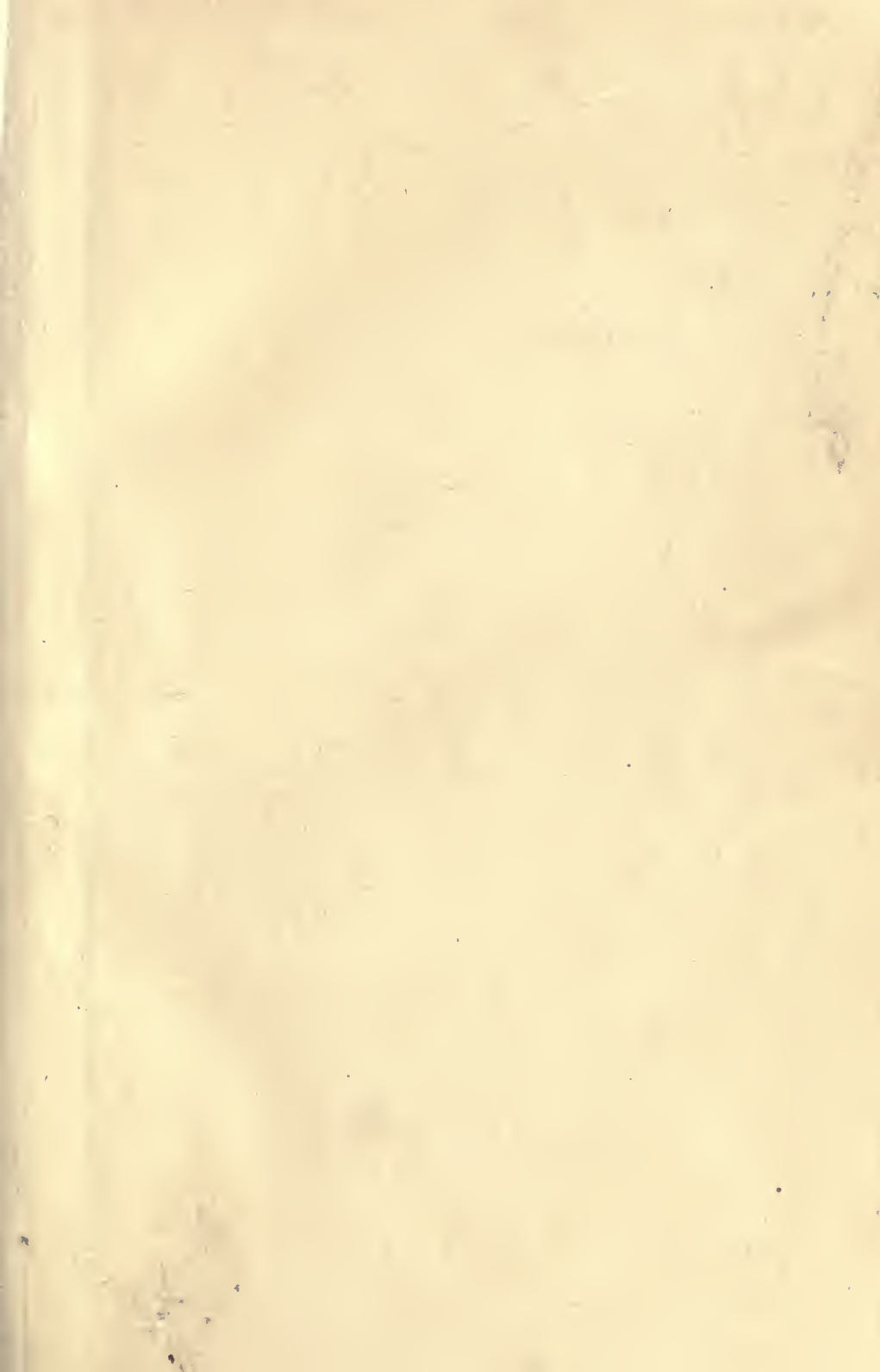


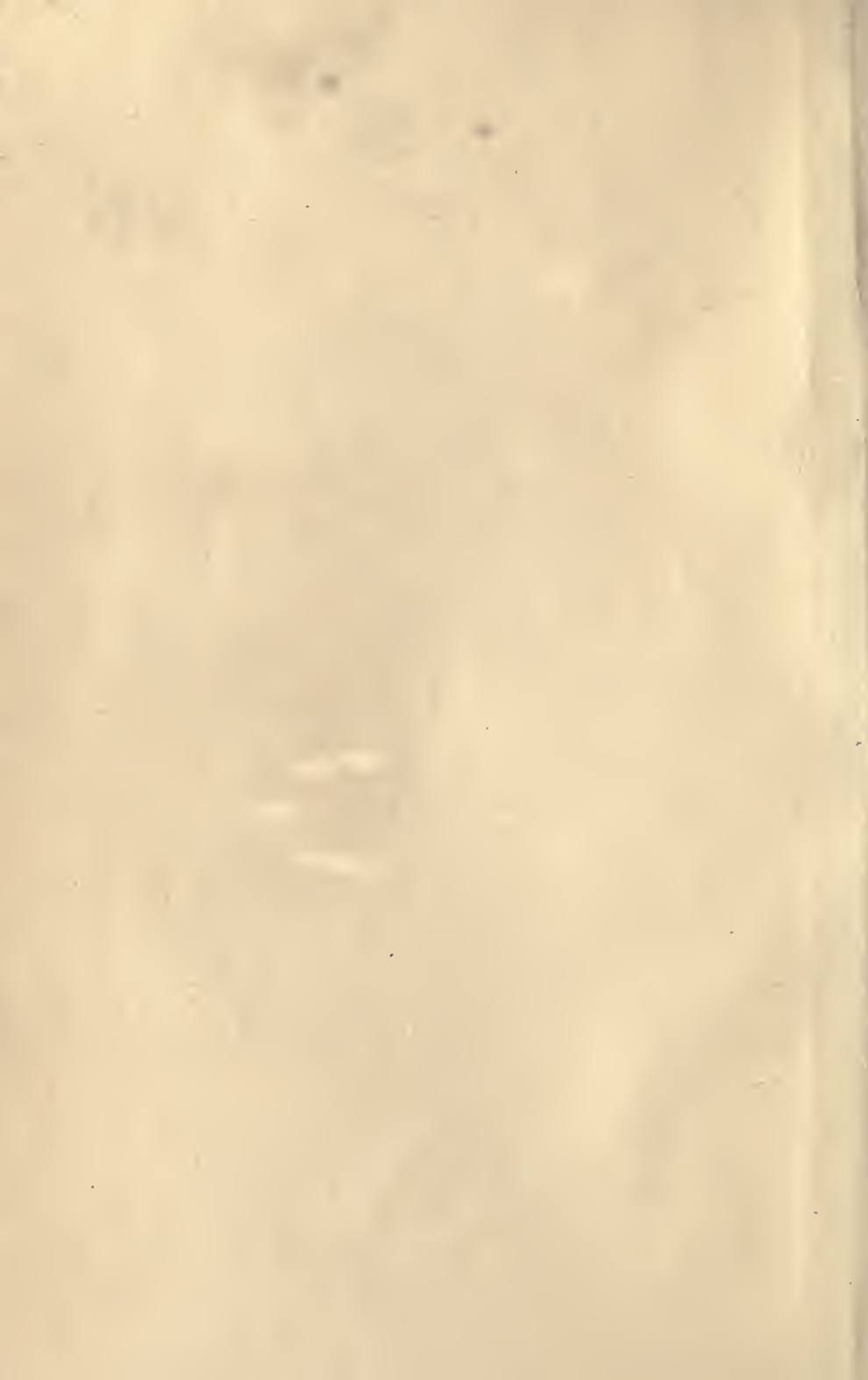






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DISSERTATION
ON THE
NUMBERS OF MANKIND,
IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.

BY

ROBERT WALLACE, D.D.

LATE ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH.

Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED.

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TO THE

FIRST EDITION, PUBLISHED IN 1753.

The Author of the following Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind, is desired by the Philosophical Society at Edinburgh, to acquaint the public, that it was composed several years ago, and was read before them.

For his own part, as he has the honour to be a member of that Society, he had no thoughts of publishing his essay till it should have a place among their works, if they thought it deserved that honour. As they had not determined to publish their Transactions, he was advised to embrace an opportunity of publishing his Dissertation at a time, when he might hope for the attention of the learned, which had been already excited to consider this subject, by Mr Hume's Political Discourse, of the Populousness of Antient Nations: he has therefore published it, in its original form, with some additions made to it, since it was presented to the Philosophical Society.

The Dissertation is followed by an Appendix, which was not read before the Philosophical Society. The Author thought he should not have done justice to his argument, if he had omitted to subjoin those observations, with which he was furnished by a review of the

subject, and by a careful perusal of Mr Hume's Political Discourse.

He thinks himself obliged to own what indeed every one in the least acquainted with him must have immediately perceived, that the observations on law, inserted in the Appendix, are the work of another hand.

The first edition of Mr Hume's Discourse is quoted in the Appendix. However, this can be no inconvenience to such as have the second, as the pages of both editions almost every where coincide.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

NUMBERS OF MANKIND.

As there is nothing in the form and the condition of this earth, or in any of the appearances of nature, which can excite in us an idea of their necessary existence, or make us believe that this our globe was from eternity; it is not only agreeable to the sacred records, but is also confirmed by other ancient monuments, as well as by history and by tradition, that mankind had a beginning on this earth,* and were not raised up at first in all its regions at once; but that, springing originally from a few, and increasing by pro-

* *Præterea, si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Terræ et cæli, semperque æterna fuere :
Cur supra bellum Thebanum et funera Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ ?
Quo tot facta virum toties cecidere ? nec usquam
Æternis famæ monumentis insita florent ?
Verum (ut opinor) habet novitatem summa, recensque
Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit.*

LUCRET. lib. 5.

Thus even the irreligious poet, contemplating the appearances on the earth.

pagation, they gradually removed from their original seats, as force or necessity or choice or accidents determined them; and in a course of years, or of ages, spread themselves far and wide, till at length the more fertile soils, and the more temperate climates, and even the more barren and less mild were replenished with inhabitants.

Whether we should receive any instruction or not, it would be curious and entertaining, had we a distinct and complete view of the various migrations of mankind, and could form an accurate scheme of the times in which they happened, of the leaders of those early colonies, of the different regions towards which they directed their course, with other circumstances concerning the first peopling of the world. But no such entertainment can be expected. As history affords only imperfect hints; so, according to the natural order of things, and without inspiration, it could not possibly be otherwise. Before the affairs of mankind could be settled so firmly as to give them either leisure or inclination to write history, the memory of the most ancient facts must have been in a great measure forgotten and destroyed.*

The length of time in which all the habitable

* If this had been duly considered, many authors, more remarkable for their various reading, and for their fanciful application of names, than for solidity of judgment, had given themselves and the world much less unnecessary trouble, in tracing nations to their origin.

parts of the earth might have been peopled, as fully as they ever were at any period, is impossible to be determined with precision. Calculations, however, may be instituted upon it, according to any suppositions which shall be made; and as we comprehend all circumstances more fully, and our suppositions are more just, we shall approach nearer to the truth.

In attempting such a calculation from a single pair, let us suppose, that all marry who attain to maturity, and that every marriage produces six children, three males, and as many females; two of whom, viz. one male and one female, die in the more early seasons of life, or before marriage: according to which, four will remain to marry, and to replenish the world: That in $33\frac{1}{3}$ years from the time when this original pair began to propagate, they shall have produced their six children; and that within the second period of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, each of the succeeding couples shall have produced six children; and this to take place continually. On these suppositions, at the beginning of the scheme, the original pair are only in life; at the end of the first period of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, there are six persons living, viz. the original pair, and four others; at the end of 66 years, there will be 12; against 100 years there will be 24 living; and the number of persons in the succeeding periods of the scheme, according to these suppositions, will be found as in the following Table.

The sums of the last column collected.	The sum of all who are alive at the respective periods.	Died since last period, at an advanced age.	And remain in life to propagate.	Of whom died since the last period.	Born since the last period.	Years of the scheme.	Periods of the scheme.
Col. 8.	Col. 7.	Col. 6.	Col. 5.	Col. 4.	Col. 3.	Col. 2.	Col. 1.
2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
6	2+4	0	4	2	6	$33\frac{1}{3}$	1
12	6+8-2	2	8	4	12	$66\frac{2}{3}$	2
24	12+16-4	4	16	8	24	100	3
48	24+32-8	8	32	16	48	$133\frac{1}{3}$	4
96	48+64-16	16	64	32	96	$166\frac{2}{3}$	5
192	96+128-32	32	128	64	192	200	6

This Table is divided into 8 columns, which are each explained at the top ; and + in the 7th column signifies the addition, and — the subtraction of the following number, as in Algebra.

To take an example.

At the first year, or the beginning of the scheme, none but the original pair are in life ; for they have not as yet begun to propagate.

At the end of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, from the time the original pair began to propagate, six have been

born, of whom two are dead, and four are left alive to propagate; and as the original pair are supposed to be still living, there are in whole six persons on the earth.

At the end of 66^2 years, 12 have been born since the end of the last period, of whom four are dead, and eight are left alive to propagate; and the original pair being by this time supposed to be dead, it being 66 years since they began to propagate, or about 100 since we must suppose they might have been born, (for we suppose they began to propagate in full vigour); there are only 12 in life, viz. 6 who were alive at the end of the first period, deducting the original pair: and 8 younger, who are alive at the end of the second period.

Again, at the end of 100 years, or the third period, 24 have been born since the end of the second or last period, of whom 8 are dead, and 16 are left alive; and the generation, which succeeded the original pair, being by this time dead, there are 24 in life, viz. the 12 who were alive at the end of the second or last period, deducting 4 who died since the end of this second period: and 16 younger, born since that time.

Thus we shall find mankind to double themselves in each period of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, as will be evident from the composition of the Table.

For, take any number in the third column, and call it a ; then the number on the right hand is $\frac{a}{3}$; the next to that on the right hand is $\frac{2a}{3}$;

and multiplying this last by 3, the product is $2a$, or the double of a ; and this double of a is the number immediately below a : so to find the third column, you double the numbers from 6.

Again, one-third part of $2a$ is $\frac{2a}{3}$, which is the double of $\frac{a}{3}$: Hence to find the fourth column, you double the numbers from 2.

Again, two-thirds of $2a$ is $\frac{4a}{3}$, which is the double of $\frac{2a}{3}$: so to find the fifth column, you double the numbers from 4.

Again, the sixth column is the same with the fourth, beginning one row lower, or rather the same with the fifth, beginning two rows lower.

And as to the seventh column, it consists of three numbers, of which the number to the left hand (after the second row) is evidently equal to all in the row immediately above; and the other two numbers in the third row, viz. $8-2$, is equal to the first number on the left hand, or 6: so the third is double of the second row. Thus $16-4$ in the fourth row is double of $8-2$ in the third row, and $32-8$ in the fifth row is double of $16-4$ in the fourth; and this will always be the case, as will be evident from considering the fifth and sixth columns, of which this part of the seventh column is composed.

This Table may be continued to any number of years or of periods; but it is sufficient to continue the first, the second, and the eighth columns, as follows:

Periods of the scheme.	Years of the scheme.	The sum of all who are alive at the respective years or periods.
7	233	384
8	266	768
9	300	1536
10	333	3072
11	366	6144
12	400	12,288
13	433	24,576
14	466	49,152
15	500	98,304
16	533	196,608
17	566	393,216
18	600	786,432
19	633	1,572,864
20	666	3,145,728
21	700	6,291,456
22	733	12,582,912
23	766	25,165,824
24	800	50,331,648
25	833	100,663,296
26	866	201,326,592
27	900	402,653,184
28	933	805,306,368
29	966	1,610,612,736
30	1000	3,221,225,472
31	1033	6,442,450,944
32	1066	12,884,901,888
33	1100	25,769,803,776
34	1133	51,539,607,552
35	1166	103,079,215,104
36	1200	206,158,430,208
37	1233	412,316,860,416

Thus we may see to what a prodigious multitude mankind must have increased in 1200 years; and that, according to this rate, they must have overstocked the earth long before the deluge. Such a consequence, therefore, quite inconsistent with fact, as well as with the experience of the world concerning the proportion between births and marriages, must convince us, that mankind cannot be supposed to propagate at so high a rate. It is certain, however, every marriage must produce more than one couple; else, reckoning the period of human life to be 100 years, there could never be a dozen persons alive at any one time. Every couple, therefore, produces more than one, but fewer than two couples, at a medium; and it is easy to institute a calculation according to any assumed hypothesis.*

From tables of this kind, framed according to any stated rule, we may see the number of persons, who may be supposed to descend from a single pair, and how they increase in proportion to their distance from the root. The Table, according to strict truth, does not shew the number of persons who are alive at the respective periods, but more properly the number of persons

* It is not owing to the want of prolific virtue, but to the distressed circumstances of mankind, that every generation does not more than double themselves; for this would be the case, if every man were married at the age of puberty, and could sufficiently provide for a family.

sprung from the original pair, who are at the same distance from the root, according to the several generations. Thus, in the 19th generation, there are above one million and a half; in the 24th, above fifty millions of people; and in the same manner the calculation may be extended to any generation whatever.

And though all of the same generation, or at the same distance from the root, may not be alive at the same time, (for we may conceive that persons at the same distance from the original stock, may be not contemporary, but distant from one another by many years, nay even by ages,) yet as irregularities of this kind may be generally supposed to correct and compensate one another, the Table will shew nearly, the number of persons in the world at the respective periods of time.*

It is impossible to determine the number of inhabitants on our globe in the present, or in any preceding age. But we may fix, perhaps, certain limits, to direct us a little in such an uncertain subject. And if we make Mr Templeman's observations, in his *Survey of the Globe*, the foundation of our calculations, we may form various conjectures about the number of mankind at present.

* Though mankind do not actually propagate according to either the rule in our Tables, or any other constant rule; yet tables of this nature are not entirely useless, but may serve to shew how much the increase of mankind is prevented by the various causes which confine their number within such narrow limits.

Thus, if we suppose the whole habitable earth to be as well peopled in proportion as England, it contains more than 4960 millions of people.

Or supposing it peopled in the same proportion as Scotland, it contains more than 1655 millions.

Or if in proportion as Spain, it contains more than 1055 millions.

And as Holland is thought to be near seven times as populous as England in proportion to its extent, if the whole habitable earth be peopled in the same proportion as Holland, it contains about 34720 millions of inhabitants.

If it be peopled as ill as the Russian dominions, it contains about 475 millions.

From whence we may conclude, that as it must be peopled much better than Russia, and much worse than Holland, it must contain many more than 475, and many fewer than 34720 millions.

And, upon the whole, it cannot be supposed to be so well peopled as England; perhaps scarce so well as Spain; and does not really contain more than 1000 millions.

Thus, according to the preceding Table, there might have been, long before the deluge, many more inhabitants on the earth than are at present. For, in the 966th year of the world, we find more than 1610 millions: and as, from the deluge to the reign of Alexander the Great, there passed about 2000, and to the reign of Cyrus the founder of the Persian empire, about 1800 years;

according to the formerly supposed rate of propagation, or even a much lower one, the earth might have been better peopled, before either of those periods, than it is at present.

This holds especially with respect to the times since the deluge; as it appears from sacred history, that there were then at least three couples for multiplying, the three sons of Noah and their wives, instead of one; which is the supposition in the Tables. On which account the inhabitants of the earth must have increased much quicker than they are supposed in the Tables; and the earth might have been well peopled in times which we account very ancient.*

Indeed, whatever law of propagation we suppose, which is not altogether improbable, we shall find, that, calculating according to this law, mankind must have been much more numerous at a certain period already past, than they have ever been; and that after that period, as well as before it, they must have continually increased. But we ought not thence to conclude, that the earth is actually peopled in this manner; that mankind are always increasing, and are most numerous in the ages most distant from the beginning; or that they multiply regularly, according to any stated law: on the contrary, it is certain, that they multiply irregularly, and may

* If we consider the longevity of the patriarchs, both before and after the deluge, mentioned in sacred scripture, the argument for the more speedy increase of the world will appear stronger.

have been more numerous in some preceding, than in some subsequent ages; and that, through various causes, there has never been such a number of inhabitants on the earth at any one point of time, as might have been easily raised by the prolific virtue of mankind.

The causes of this paucity of inhabitants, and of this irregularity of increase, are manifold. Some of them may be called physical, as they depend entirely on the course of nature, and are independent of mankind. Others are moral, and depend on the affections, the passions, and the institutions of men. Among the physical causes, some are more constant: such as the temperature of the air; the extreme heat or cold of some climates; the barrenness of some regions of the earth; and the unfavourableness of the climate or natural product of some soils to generation. Other causes of this kind are more variable: such as, the inclemency of particular seasons; plagues; famines; earthquakes; and inundations of the sea; which sweep off great numbers of men, as well as of other animals, and prevent the quicker replenishing of the earth.

That these natural causes have had a baneful influence, cannot be doubted. Yet it is probable, that this might be prevented in some degree, perhaps in even a great measure, by the skill and the industry of men, and by wholesome laws and institutions; at least, that all these natural causes taken together, excepting perhaps the incurable

barrenness or unwholesomeness of some particular regions, have not so bad an effect as those we have called moral causes, which arise from the passions and the vices of men, and which have a more constant and more powerful influence on the world.

To this last article we may refer the many destructive wars which men have waged against one another ; great poverty ; corrupt institutions either of a civil or of a religious kind ; intemperance ; debauchery ; irregular amours ; idleness ; luxury ; and whatever either prevents marriage, or weakens the generating faculties of men, or renders them either negligent or incapable of educating their children, and of cultivating the earth to advantage. It is chiefly to such destructive causes we must ascribe the small number of men. Indeed had it not been for the errors and the vices of mankind, and for the defects of government and of education, the earth must have been much better peopled, perhaps might have been overstocked, many ages ago : and as these causes operate more or less strongly, the earth will be better or worse peopled, at different times. Hence likewise, as has been already remarked, we may suppose that the earth was much better peopled in some ancient ages, than it has been in modern times, or is at present. Nor is there any necessity to suppose, that the number of men upon the earth must have continually increased, and that, in the present age, their number is greater than at any preceding period.

Upon a more exact inquiry, perhaps, we shall find reason to conclude, that the reverse is the truth. And as the illustration of this subject is of very great importance, and is closely connected with the deepest policy, and with the most intimate constitution of human society,* an accurate examination of it must be useful and interesting; and though we may not give perfect satisfaction, yet any tolerable prospect can scarce be unacceptable.

To say truth, it is but a very imperfect prospect we dare promise on this occasion. The subject itself is so involved in obscurity, the accounts of ancient authors are so incomplete, the matter either has not been handled at all, or has been handled so superficially, that much cannot be expected from a first essay; nay, after the most accurate search, it will perhaps be found impossible to determine precisely the rate at which mankind have either increased or decreased, in particular ages or countries; or the particular causes from which those variations have happened. Exact registers of such things have never been kept, and indeed could never have

* The question concerning the number of mankind in ancient and modern times, under ancient or modern governments, is not to be considered as a matter of mere curiosity, but of the greatest importance; since it must be a strong presumption in favour of the customs or policy of any government, if, *ceteris paribus*, it is able to raise up and maintain a greater number of people.

been preserved in such an unsettled state of human affairs. However, some light may, surely, be struck out, which will illustrate this subject.

But ere we proceed to inquire more particularly, it will be proper to lay down some general maxims taken from nature and from constant observation, which may be useful to guide us in a more particular comparison.

1. A rude and barbarous people, living by hunting, by fishing, or by pasturage, or on the spontaneous product of the earth, without agriculture, can never be so numerous as a people inhabiting the same tract of land, who are well skilled in agriculture, as uncultivated can never maintain so many inhabitants as cultivated lands. In every country, there shall always be found a greater number of inhabitants, *cæteris paribus*, in proportion to the plenty of provisions it affords, as plenty will always encourage the generality of the people to marry.

Hence it is evident, that the world could not be best peopled in rude and ignorant ages, while men lived chiefly on the spontaneous fruits of the earth, and were not instructed in agriculture; and that in whatever age we find a country grossly ignorant of agriculture, we may be assured that country must have been but thinly inhabited.

From which we may justly conclude, that notwithstanding the numerous swarms which the northern regions sent forth into southern climes, at different times, these northern regions might

have, and if barbarous and without agriculture, must have been ill peopled; for it is easy to overstock an uncultivated country: nay, such a country, in the common course of things, if it does not meet with some extraordinary calamities, must necessarily be obliged, at certain times, to disburden itself of the mouths it cannot sustain.

2. As the earth could not be well peopled in rude and barbarous ages, neither are all countries, climates, and soils, equally favourable to propagation. There must, therefore, be a great difference in respect of inhabitants, notwithstanding the best culture, discipline, and constitutions.

For cold and barren heaths, rocky mountainous tracts, marshes which cannot be drained, inhospitable sands, and many other sorts of unfruitful soils, cannot produce equal quantities of food, and, by consequence, *cæteris paribus*, cannot be so well stored with people, as softer and more fertile climes. We may also suppose, that, in certain countries, the air, or the most common food, may be more or less favourable to generation, or to that equal proportion between the births of males and of females, which is most favourable to it. Circumstances of this sort may lay a foundation for great variety in the numbers of mankind.

3. Besides the nature of the climate or the soil, the number of people in every country depends greatly on its political maxims and institutions concerning the division of lands.

For if there is very nearly an equal division of the lands, and into such small shares, that they can yield little more than is necessary to feed and clothe the labourers in a frugal and simple manner; though, in such a situation, there is little room for commerce with strangers, and none but the most simple and necessary arts can be in use; yet, if the country be naturally fertile, it must of necessity be well stored with people.

Hence we may conclude, that when any ancient nation divided its lands into small shares, and when even eminent citizens had but a few acres to maintain their families, though such a nation had but little commerce, and had learned only a few simple and more necessary arts, it must have abounded greatly in people. This was in a particular manner the case in Rome for several ages, as we shall see afterwards.

But if the lands be divided into very unequal shares, and, in general, may produce much more than will decently support those who cultivate them, the country may notwithstanding be well peopled, if arts be encouraged, and the surplus above what will support the labourers of the ground be allotted for such as cultivate the arts and sciences.

Further, where the lands are very unequally divided, and are capable of maintaining many more than those who cultivate them, that country must be thinly peopled, unless elegance be

studied, and proper encouragement be given to the arts which conduce to it.

In every country where nothing is known but agriculture and pasturage, and a few more simple arts, such as those of building and of clothing in a frugal taste, without ornament; of necessity there must be few inhabitants, unless the lands are nearly equally divided, and into small portions: And, in a fertile soil, the shares of land must be extremely small, if they are not able to support many more people than are necessary for cultivating them. Hence, in every such soil, where a great extent of property is allowed, there is room for elegance, sumptuousness, and the encouragement of arts; and in whatever country industry prevails, about what subject soever it is employed, provided the produce of it give a price either at home or abroad, such a country may abound in people, and flourish by arts and by commerce. It may even flourish though agriculture be not encouraged to the full, and several tracts of land be much neglected. Nay, such is the force of industry and commerce, that, by means of them, many more inhabitants may be maintained in a country than the produce of the lands can possibly support, as their food may be brought from a distance.

At the same time, if the lands of any country be neglected, the world in general must suffer for it, and the earth must contain a smaller number of inhabitants, in proportion to the numbers

which might be supported by these uncultivated lands.

4. As the number of people in every nation depends most immediately on the number and fruitfulness of marriages, and on the encouragement given to marry; wherever the greatest care is taken in this respect, the number of the people, *cæteris paribus*, shall be greatest; and a bad policy in this article must give a considerable check to propagation.

Hence, in a debauched nation, addicted to sensuality and to irregular amours, and where luxury and an high taste of delicate living prevail, the number of the people must be proportionably small; for their debauchery will hinder many from marrying, and their luxury will render them less able to maintain families.

For the same reason, a nation shall be more populous in proportion as good morals and a simplicity of taste and of manners prevail; or as the people are more frugal and more virtuous.

5. As mankind can be supported only by the fruits of the earth and by animal food, and it is only by agriculture, by fishing, and by hunting, that food can be provided, to render the earth as populous as possible, these arts must be duly cherished, especially agriculture and fishing.

Hence, the more persons employ themselves in agriculture and in fishing, and in the arts which are necessary for managing them to greatest advantage, the world in general will be more popu-

lous; and as fewer hands are employed in this manner, there will be fewer people. It is of no consequence in this argument, how the people are employed otherwise; nay, though they are employed in arts which may increase the riches and the numbers of particular nations, if they be not employed in such as are necessary for providing food.

Among arts of this latter kind, we include not only such as are immediately, but such likewise as are absolutely necessary for this purpose, though perhaps more immediately subservient to other ends; such as, the arts of preparing all necessary tools of the best sort, and even clothes and houses, and whatever tends to preserve health and strength for labour. But we exclude all those arts which tend wholly to ornament and to delicacy; and though perhaps it is impossible (nor is it necessary in the present argument) to distinguish precisely, which art is for ornament, and which for use; yet we can easily distinguish *en gros*. And in proportion as the arts for ornament or those for use do most prevail, there shall be in general fewer or more inhabitants in the world.

For if 10,000, or any other determinate number, be employed merely in works of ornament, and their labour does not serve for multiplying food, there must be a certain number, by whose labour, in providing food, these 10,000 are supported. Now, if these 10,000, instead of labour-

ing for ornament alone, were employed directly in providing food, they might provide not only for themselves, but likewise for a certain number of others; by which greater numbers might be supported on the whole. In order therefore to have the greatest possible number of inhabitants in the world, all mankind should be employed directly in providing food; and this must always be the case till the whole earth be cultivated to the full. But, whenever the earth shall happen to be as richly cultivated as is possible, then will there be room for those arts that tend only to ornament, since such as are employed in the more necessary labour of providing food, must be able to purchase it for a much greater number than themselves.

In all this, we do not pretend to distinguish nicely the arts that are useful from such as are merely ornamental; much less do we assert, that mankind ought never to employ themselves in arts which tend only to ornament, till the whole earth shall be cultivated in the highest degree possible. We only observe the natural and necessary consequences of various sorts of labour, and the means by which the earth may be best stocked with people, viz. when the necessary arts are most studied. This must hold when the whole earth is considered *in cumulo*. It will also hold, as to any particular country, in all cases but one; I mean, when a smaller number by traffic and by commerce can import a greater quantity

of food, than could be raised by the same number pursuing agriculture at home. For in this case, though the world in general must lose in numbers of people, yet a particular nation might gain. Thus the world in general, and every particular nation, (except in the case just now stated) must have fewer or more inhabitants, in proportion as luxury and a delicate taste, or as simplicity of manners prevails, and as the arts necessary for providing food are less or more industriously cultivated.

Hence it follows likewise, contrary perhaps to what many may apprehend, that trade and commerce, instead of increasing, may often tend to diminish the number of mankind; and while they enrich a particular nation, and entice great numbers of people into one place, may be not a little detrimental on the whole, as they promote luxury, and prevent many useful hands from being employed in agriculture. The exchange of commodities, and what by carrying them from one country to another by sea or by land, does not multiply food; and if such as are employed in this exchange, were employed in agriculture at home, a greater quantity of food would be provided, and a greater number of people might be maintained.

The same principle will teach us, that huge and overgrown cities, which are nurseries of corruption and of debauchery, and prejudicial in many other respects, are in a particular manner destruc-

tive to the populousness of the world, as they cherish luxury, entice great numbers of all ranks to resort to them, and drain the rest of a country of useful labouring hands, who otherwise would be employed in agriculture and the most necessary arts.

Nor do the operose manufactures of linen and woollen, or of toys and utensils of wood, or metals, or earth, in which so many hands are employed in a commercial nation, contribute so much to the increase of the people as many are apt to apprehend; and it is not always true, that, in proportion as manufactures are numerous and flourishing, a country must of course be more populous than in times of greater simplicity.

In general, living must be cheaper, where fewer things are wanted, and what is needed may be most easily purchased. Wherever living is cheapest, and a family can be most easily supported, there will be more frequent marriages, and greater numbers of people. Where scarce any thing is needed but simple food, a simple garment, and a little plain furniture, living will be cheapest. This agrees best to a state, where few mechanic arts are in use, and men are chiefly addicted to agriculture.

But operose manufactures of linen and woollen for clothes and for furniture, a variety of utensils of wood and metals, and all the refinements of an opulent and trading nation, tend to multiply

men's wants, make the most necessary and substantial things dearer, and in general increase the expence of living.

Food and clothes, houses, and a little furniture, are necessary for all. And, if a nation be laborious and industrious, these necessities will be in such abundance, that almost every one will have them at an easy rate. Hence, while a people preserve their simple taste, and continue to be industrious, they will multiply prodigiously. But when this simplicity of taste is lost, which must always happen in proportion as opulose manufactures increase; though they continue to be industrious, yet more of the people will apply themselves to less necessary manufactures, and fewer to provide what is more substantial; and as the proportion of those who apply to elegant manufactures increases, and fewer hands are employed in providing food, necessities will become more scarce; toys will abound, and trifles will become more necessary for the bulk of the people. This will still keep them dear, though they be in plenty. Hence living even in the most simple manner will become more expensive; consequently, mankind be less able to support families, and be less encouraged to marry.

And though the value of labour will become higher as manufactures increase, it will not compensate the greater expence of living. For this is only one article, and will not enable the la-

bourer to furnish himself with such a variety, as growing manufactures render both necessary and difficult to be purchased.

It must be confessed, that numerous manufactures make a nation more elegant and magnificent. They introduce a variety of fine clothes and of rich furniture ; but, at the same time, they divert the attention of mankind from providing food : and while they create a taste for delicacies, and make them necessary, in some degree, to the bulk of the people, they increase the number of artists, and diminish that of husbandmen.

In one respect, therefore, a variety of manufactures, diverting the attention of mankind from more necessary labour, prevents the increase of the people.

This will become more evident, if it shall appear, that, in a state where manufactures abound, every inhabitant has four or five acres of ground to maintain him ; but, in another where the taste is more simple, there is not one acre for every member of the society.

However, if in any state, whether the territory is small or great, there be more people than the whole lands can maintain even with the best culture, the society must depend on manufactures ; and by manufactures alone they can flourish.

But if they have so much uncultivated land, that, notwithstanding flourishing manufactures, they have still a much greater number of acres

than people; had they a more simple taste, and applied more vigorously to agriculture, their people would increase more speedily.

This argument will be equally strong, whether we suppose these manufactures consumed at home, or exported abroad, provided what is returned in exchange for the exported commodities is not substantial food, such as corn or cattle, but only other manufactures which support elegance and magnificence, or contribute to delicacy of living.

Nor has the greater or less plenty of money any influence in this case. For men live not on money, but on food: and if, from the policy and the general customs of a country, the people want a variety of things they cannot easily purchase; especially if, by a greater attention to manufactures than to agriculture, common food becomes scarce and dear; whatever plenty of money may be supposed in such a situation, there must be great discouragements to marry, as it will be impossible to support families easily.

For money, and the use of it, must always be estimated by, and bear a proportion to, the stock or quantity of goods that are in a nation, and to the number of persons who are to use them.

What chiefly encourages marriages, and enables men to support families easily, is the easy purchase of food, and what is necessary for the bulk of the people. If these things can be easily purchased, it is of little consequence, in this argu-

ment, whether money be in plenty or not. But if, by means of operose manufactures, such a variety of things becomes necessary, as the bulk of the people cannot purchase without difficulty, whatever be the quantity of money, multitudes will be discouraged from marrying.

At the same time, we may suppose a great deal of elegance and of magnificence in a state, though plain food and the necessaries of life may be easily purchased. This will be the case if the magnificence appears only in what belongs to the public; as in temples, in theatres, or in public edifices of any kind, or in the splendour of the magistrates, or the officers of the state: or, if it descends to some rich men in a private station, it must consist principally in things durable, which are not daily consumed; for this sort of magnificence will not employ many hands, and a sufficient number will remain for providing food.

Suppose the great body of manufacturers in some trading nations that have a large territory, to lay aside their manufactures, and employ themselves in agriculture, in pasturage, and in fishing; they would provide a vast quantity of food; they would make all the necessaries of life cheap and easy to be purchased; and it would soon become visible how great a difference there is between agriculture and manufactures in rendering a nation populous.

In opposition to this, it may be said, that when a nation is possessed of a large territory,

which is either so unequally divided, or divided into such large shares, that the whole people, or a great part of them, have a much greater quantity of land than will maintain them easily ; such a people must be lazy and indolent, and will have nothing to quicken their industry, unless arts and manufactures are introduced and cherished ; that if they have a simple taste, and know little of elegance, as they must have great plenty of plain food, and all the necessities of life, there is nothing that will be a spur to their ambition ; and thus they may continue, for ages, in idleness, and their number increase very little. But if once a variety of arts and manufactures are introduced among them ; if their taste be refined, their wants be increased, and they have many alluring objects of art to excite their desires,—this awakens ambition, kindles emulation, quickens industry, and engages men to labour, that they may procure the tempting objects they desire. It is thus a society becomes elegant, magnificent, and populous ; and now they will make greater advances in a short time, than formerly they were capable of making in many ages, while their simplicity of taste remained.

It must be confessed, this has a specious appearance, and is partly founded on truth : yet, on a more accurate examination, we shall find the former arguments for a simplicity of taste remain firm and unshaken.

In a preceding observation,* we acknowledged, "That where the lands are very unequally divided, and are capable of maintaining many more than those who cultivate them, that country must be thinly peopled, unless elegance be studied, and proper encouragement be given to the arts which conduce to it." This must always be the case, where this unequal division of the lands continues; or where the shares of individuals continue very large, though equally divided. But the question is, Whether, admitting such a division of lands once to have taken place, the inclination men generally have to marry and to raise families, would not cause them to increase; and supposing them to have only a simple taste, and to know little but agriculture and a few necessary arts, and that this taste continues, whether they would not, by means of agriculture, increase more speedily, and in fact become more numerous, than if they diverted gradually from agriculture; and, instead of improving their lands, and of living in a simple manner, employed themselves so much in seeking elegance, and in prosecuting manufactures, that, by degrees, plain and simple food became scarce, and so many things were wanted, that living became expensive, and it was not easy for the bulk of the people to support themselves? Now, it seems evident, that this must be determined in favour of

* Pages 17, 18.

agriculture, rather than of manufactures; and that the people would grow more numerous in the one situation than in the other.

Suppose that, at the same point of time, two nations were equal in all respects, and had the same simple taste for agriculture and the necessary arts; that the one preserved the same simplicity, but the other became refined, and, by degrees, lost their ancient taste: I apprehend that the nation, which preserved its simplicity longest, would increase most quickly, and that the accession of foreigners, which we may suppose in the one case more than in the other, would not be able to compensate the ruin occasioned by luxury, except in very extraordinary circumstances.

To put this in a clearer light, let us attend to the natural order of things, and the progression that ought to be conceived from simplicity to luxury and refinement.

The taste of mankind, in the most early times, most certainly was simple, and without refinement. We may even suppose the actual existence of a time, when men lived on the spontaneous fruits of the earth, and on the milk and the flesh of animals; when agriculture was scarcely known, or was extremely imperfect. This taste, however, could not continue always; the world would become refined by degrees, agriculture would come more into esteem, and be improved: But it would not be improved alone; other

arts would advance likewise. There is a connection among them, whence they cannot be entirely separated, but must appear together, if any of them approaches to perfection. Hence, as agriculture advanced, other arts would advance likewise; the most necessary would be first improved, and afterwards the less necessary, those, viz. that tended more to refinement than to use. The taste for simplicity being original, would long prevail; after it was lost in some things, it would continue in others; and the world would be old before the highest refinement, and most enormous luxury could take place. In fact, it will be found, that what would appear rustic and inelegant to many thought mighty polite at present, and would be called great simplicity, remained long among the ancient nations; yet objects were never wanting to excite industry, to provoke emulation and ambition, and to distinguish the rich from the poor. This is certainly the natural order and progression of things. It is impossible to conceive, that various arts and manufactures would not be daily invented and improved along with agriculture. But we must also admit, that the highest refinement and the greatest luxury would come last into fashion. In short, I cannot help apprehending, that while the ancient simplicity remained, and men continued to employ themselves in agriculture and the subservient arts, and did not divert to arts more elegant than necessary, nations would become

more populous; and as luxury prevailed, they would increase more slowly, and their number would begin at length to diminish.

These general observations may shew how differently mankind may increase in different ages and countries; and, by applying them to the history of particular nations, we shall be better enabled to form an opinion concerning the greater or smaller number of people at different periods. Something may likewise be done, by actual calculation from ancient historians, to make some approaches towards a determination of the real number of the inhabitants of some more noted countries. But calculations of this sort may be thought to be more uncertain, and conclusions of the first kind to be more firm and solid.

What has passed in ancient times, or even passes at present in the most northern nations of Europe, in the northern and the eastern regions of Asia, and in the middle of Africa, is very little known. But as to the rest of these continents, particularly those countries which lie near the Mediterranean Sea, and were the chief seat of ancient history, we are able to form a more certain judgment; and perhaps it will appear, that in most of those countries whose ancient and present state is best known, there have been fewer inhabitants in later ages, there are fewer at present, than were in more ancient times, and that these countries were better peopled before

the Roman empire was established, than they have ever been at any succeeding period.

To set this in the clearest light, and render such a speculation more useful, it may be proper,

First, To take notice of some passages in ancient historians, which may help us to form conjectures concerning the number of people in some of the most noted countries in ancient times ; and then to compare them with the numbers in England : whence it may, perhaps, appear, that many of the ancient nations were more populous than such as are reckoned most civilized at present.

Secondly, To trace the causes of this, and enquire, whether, from the reason of things, and the manners and the customs of ancient times, it is not probable that this must have been the case.

First, As to the fact, the monuments of ancient times seem in general to present a more crowded and magnificent scene. We are struck with an idea of more sumptuous and expensive works, more powerful states and cities, more numerous armies, and greater crowds of people, than modern ages offer to our view. For this we may appeal to the histories of Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Egypt, the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, and several countries of Asia, but especially Asia Minor.

At the same time, an opinion in favour of antiquity may be carried too far. We may degrade

modern policy too much, and give too great a preference to ancient manners and times. The world is apt to run into parties and factions in this, as in all other disputable matters; and in such a disposition, it is well if truth and justice be but moderately injured.

As an example of too great a prepossession in favour of antiquity, we may reckon the assertion of Isaac Vossius, who is not only of opinion that the earth was much more populous in ancient than modern times, but even brings down the number of the inhabitants of Europe in his own age to thirty millions; a computation undoubtedly far below the just account.

We have this estimate in his book of various observations.* According to his account,

Spain contained	-	-	2,000,000
France	-	-	5,000,000
Italy, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia	-		3,000,000
England, Scotland, and Ireland	-		2,000,000
Belgium,	-	-	2,000,000
Germany, Bohemia, Hungary	-		5,000,000
Denmark, &c.	-	-	400,000
Sweden, Norway, &c.	-	-	600,000
Poland and Lithuania	-	-	1,500,000
Carry forward,			21,500,000

* At London, 4to, 1685. See the Dissertation of the great cities of the Chinese, p. 66.

	Brought forward,	21,500,000
Hungary, and eastward	-	2,500,000
Dalmatia, Illyricum, Macedonia, all		
Greece, Crete, and the Islands	-	3,000,000
	Sum,	27,000,000
Muscovy	-	3,000,000
	Sum,	30,000,000

But, what is much more surprising in so great a man, we find the learned author of *Lettres Persanes*, published some years ago, giving it as his opinion, that there were fifty times in the world as many people in the days of Julius Cæsar, the first Roman emperor, as are in it at present; which is certainly too high a proportion.*

There is less reason to admit so high a computation for the age of Julius Cæsar; as, according to ancient accounts, the earth was much more populous in times far more ancient. This is directly asserted by Diodorus Siculus, who lived in Cæsar's age, † and enters a caveat against rejecting his relation of the numerous armies of the ancients, on account of the paucity of mankind in his days. He even calls the earth a desert, compared with what it was anciently. And Strabo, ‡

* *Lettre* 108.

† *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 5.

‡ The edition is in two volumes folio, at Amsterdam 1707, *apud* Joannem Wolters.

a judicious author, who lived under Augustus and Tiberius, takes notice, in several places of his *Geography*, how much some mighty states and cities were decayed in his age, and how much the number of their citizens was diminished; particularly how that part of Italy near Tarentum was formerly full of people, and had thirteen great cities;* though in his age none remained save Tarentum and Brundisium; all the rest having been reduced to villages. And, mentioning the great armies of the Gæti and Daci in ancient times,† amounting to 200,000 men, he adds, that now they could muster only 20,000; or, as some read it, 40,000, or 80,000.

If we give credit to ancient authors, many countries were well peopled in times of the most remote antiquity. And though it is not safe to trust entirely, or indeed to build a great deal on the particular accounts which they have given of the vast armies of Semiramis, Ninus, and other eastern monarchs of early time; and though we are far from being certain that their numbers are not magnified; yet thus much we must necessarily admit, that it was the belief of succeeding ages, ancient in respect of ours, that there was a great number of people in those eastern countries in times much more ancient.

* In his sixth book, p. 430.

† In his seventh book, p. 468.

Thus Diodorus relates,* that Ninus led an army into Bactria of 1,700,000 foot, and 210,000 horse, and wanted only a few of 10,600 chariots :

That the king of Bactria met him with an army of 400,000 men :

That Semiramis gathered together two millions of men to build Babylon :

That this powerful princess carried an army into India of three millions of foot, half a million of horse, 100,000 chariots ; and, to supply the want of elephants, caused 100,000 men to ride on as many camels dressed up in the resemblance of elephants : besides which, she carried along with her on the backs of camels, 2000 ships so framed that they could be taken down in different pieces, and joined together when there was occasion to use them ; notwithstanding all which, the Indian king mustered up a great army :

That the Medes, in one of their expeditions against the Caducii,† led an army of 800,000 men ; and that the Cadusii met them with 200,000.

And Strabo observes,‡ that anciently the Getæ and Daci had armies of 200,000 men.

The age in which Troy was taken by the Greeks is of very high antiquity, and was reckoned ancient in the times of Julius Cæsar, of Diodorus Siculus, and of Strabo ; yet, in this

* In his second book, § 5. 6. 7. 16. 17.

† Diod. Sic. lib. 2. § 33.

‡ In the seventh book of his Geography, p. 468.

early age, Greece and the neighbouring countries seem to have been well peopled. If we compute the army Greece sent against the Trojans and their allies, we shall find it was one of the greatest, which, according to their history, the Greeks ever brought into the field.

Homer gives a catalogue of 1186 ships, which Thucydides (for the sake of the round number, as may be supposed) raises to 1200.*

But, taking the number from Homer, let us determine every thing from the accounts he hath given us.

In one part of his poem, † he assigns 120 hands to some of the ships; who are to be considered both as sailors and as soldiers, since the names of *ἑρέται καὶ τόξων ἔνδοτες*, *rowers and skilful archers*, found in the same catalogue, ought to be applied to the whole army except the commanders. At this rate, if each of the ships had carried as many, the whole army must have consisted of 142,320 men. But as, according to another passage, ‡ some ships contained only fifty men, the army could not be so great; and, at the mean

* Book I. § 10.

† Τῶν μὲν πεντήκοντα νέες κίον, ἐν δὲ ἐκάσῃ
Κῆροι βοιωτῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι βαῖνον.

Book II. line 509, 510.

‡ ————— ἑρέται δ' ἐν ἐκάσῃ πεντήκοιλα
Ἐμβέβασαν, τόξων ἔνδοτες Ἴφι μάχεσθαι.

Book II. line 719, 720.

proportion of eighty-five to each ship, amounted to 100,810 men : a great army ; though Thucydides observes the Greeks could have raised a greater, had they not been afraid of wanting provisions, in a foreign country. *

But, besides these general observations, it will be proper, entering more into a detail, to form a calculation of the number of the ancient inhabitants of the most noted countries on the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, and to compare them with the people of England in the present age.

In this comparison, the best we can do is to build on the observations made in a late work, concerning the bulk of most of the remarkable countries of the world computed in square miles : † for though such observations cannot be supposed to be free from mistakes, being taken only from modern maps, which are not perfectly exact ; yet they are the best helps we have for determining the extent of these countries, and the proportion they bear to each other. They are more certain guides than the ancient maps, or the length and breadth assigned by ancient or modern authors ; especially in the islands, and such countries as Spain, Italy, and Greece, which had anciently, and still have, the most distinct boundaries by the sea, or by remarkable rivers and mountains.

* Book I. § 11.

† A new Survey of the Globe, by Thomas Templeman.

A rule has likewise been laid down by one of our best mathematicians,* by which we may nearly determine the number of inhabitants in any city or state, from the number of its fighting men. And this being fundamental in calculations of this kind, I may take notice, that it is not only confirmed from modern, but also from a couple of ancient, observations of two of the most authentic ancient writers, Cæsar and Strabo.

The first of them relates, that, after he had conquered the Helvetii, who had abandoned their country to seek new habitations, and in this view had carried their wives and children along with them, he found in their camp, rolls of all who had undertaken this expedition, distinguishing such as could bear arms, and the old men, women, and children separately. †

* The learned and ingenious Dr Halley, in his observations on the bills of mortality of the city of Breslaw, in Silesia, in Lowthorpe's abridgment of the *Philosoph. Transact.* Vol. III. p. 669.

† "In castris Helvetiorum tabulæ repertæ sunt literis Græcis confectæ, et ad Cæsarem relatæ; quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes, mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum summa erat, capitum Helvetiorum millia CCLXIII, Tulingorum millia XXXVI, Latobrigorum XIV, Rauracorum XXIII, Boiorum XXXII. Ex his, qui arma ferre possent ad millia XCII. Summa omnium fuerunt ad millia CCCLXVIII."—CÆSAR *De Bell. Gal.* lib. 1. § 29.

Plutarch, in the life of Cæsar, assigns different numbers; but the numbers marked by Cæsar himself are more authentic.

In the rolls it stood thus :

Of the Helvetii	-	-	263,000
Of the Tulingi	-	-	36,000
Of the Latobrigi	-	-	14,000
Of the Rauraci	-	-	23,000
Of the Boii	-	-	32,000
Sum,			368,000

And of the whole number, those who
could bear arms were - - 92,000

Which is the fourth part, and agrees very well
with Mr Halley's computation.

A passage in Strabo confirms the same calculation : * When Augustus Cæsar rooted out the nation of the Salassii, who dwelt upon the Alps, he sold 36,000 persons for slaves, of whom 8000 were able to bear arms. And though, by Dr Halley's rule, there ought to have been a few above 9000, this difference is justly accounted for, by supposing more than 1000 of their best men killed before they were subdued.

Velleius Paterculus relates, that the number of the Pannonians, the Dalmatians, and some other nations, who rebelled against that prince, exceeded 800,000 ; of whom near 200,000 foot, and 9000 horse, were collected able to bear arms. †

* Lib. 4. p. 315.

† Lib. 11.

These passages in such old authors confirm the accounts of the authors themselves, as well as Dr Halley's rule of computation from the bills of Silesia.

But to proceed to our calculations, let us begin with Egypt, so famous in ancient story.

England, according to Mr Templeman's survey, contains 49,450 square miles, (of which there are 60 in a degree,) Egypt 140,700. So the extent of Egypt is to that of England as 2.84 to 1. England is computed to contain 8,000,000 of inhabitants. If Egypt was peopled in the same proportion, it must have contained about 22,700,000. But, according to ancient historians, it appears to have contained many more.

Diodorus Siculus relates,* that more than 1700 males were born in Egypt the same day which gave birth to the famous Sesostris. The father of this monarch ordered all these boys to be brought to court, and to be educated along with his son; persuading himself, that those who were bred up with the prince from their infancy would become his warmest friends, most affectionate soldiers, and most faithful commanders. Such wisdom and policy make the accounts of historians less improbable; since, by the assistance of so able counsellors, with an army of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 warlike chariots, he might well have made the mighty conquests

* Lib. 1. cap. 53, 54.

attributed to him. It is to this uncommon action of the father of Sesostris we owe the knowledge of the number of males born in Egypt on that particular day; and if as many were born every day, (which we must be allowed to assume, as there is no reason for distinguishing that day from any other) there must have been born in one year no fewer than 620,500 males; from which it follows, according to Dr Halley's calculation, that there were more than 17,000,000 of males in Egypt in that early age. And allowing an equal number of females, the whole people amounted to more than 34,000,000.

According to the accounts of Herodotus,* Egypt was very populous in the days of Amasis, who lived a little before the founding of the Persian empire by Cyrus. In the reign of this king, it contained 20,000 cities, all inhabited: at this rate, allowing 2000 to each city, the number of the whole people amounted to 40,000,000.

And, considering how many large cities Egypt contained, especially the grandeur and the magnificence of its two capital cities Thebes and Memphis, this supposition of 2000 to each city will not perhaps be thought extravagant.

Thebes appears to have been one of the greatest cities that ever was in the world. It is celebrated by Homer† for its hundred gates, out of

* Lib. 2. p. 179. edit. Henrici Stephani.

† ————— οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας
Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κλήματα κεύται,

each of which marched 200 men, with horses and chariots, in all 20,000, whom we may call cavalry. But Tacitus, an author of great credit, and far from credulous, gives us yet a more magnificent idea of its inhabitants, * in computing the number of fighting men at 700,000. The quadruple of which, or 2,800,000, being the number of its inhabitants, shews it to have been more than twice and a half, or perhaps thrice as populous as London.

The great number of the citizens of Thebes is further evident from the largeness of its extent, which, according to Strabo, † was in his time no less than 80 Greek stadii, or 10 Greek miles, in length; and Diodorus Siculus ‡ computes the circuit of its walls at 140 Greek stadii, or $17\frac{1}{2}$ Greek miles: but in more ancient times § its circuit was reckoned much greater, and even

Αἱ θ' ἑκατόμυλοι εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἂν ἐκάστην
Ἄνδρες ἐξοιχνέῃσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχρεσφιν.

HOMER. *Iliad*. 9. l. 381, &c.

* Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia, et manebant structis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ: jussusque è senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari.—TACIT. *Annal.* lib. 2. cap. 60.

† In the seventeenth book of his *Geography*, p. 1170.

‡ In his first book, sect. 45.

§ Eustachius's *Commentary upon the μετρηγῆσις of Dionysius*, printed at London 1638, in folio, v. 249. p. 45.

computed to have been 420 Greek stadii, or $52\frac{1}{2}$ Greek miles. *

As Thebes was a most magnificent city, so Memphis, which became the capital in later times, was likewise very grand and very populous. According to Diodorus, † it was $18\frac{3}{4}$ Greek miles in circuit; he observes further, ‡ that Egypt had anciently 18,000 remarkable cities, *Κώμας ἀξιολόγους και πολεις*. I confess he takes notice, in the same passage, that anciently there were 7,000,000 of people in Egypt, and that there were only 3,000,000 in his time: the expression too seems to be comprehensive, and to include

* To make this and the following computations more clear, we shall set down the proportion of Greek, Roman, and English measures of length from Arbuthnot's tables:

A Greek *μειλιον* contained eight Greek *σταδια*, and a *σταδιον* contained $6052\frac{1}{2}$ English inches; an English furlong contains 7920 English inches: so an English furlong is to a Greek *stadion*, (or, which is the same, an English mile is to a Greek *μειλιον*), as 1 to .76420272727, and so *in infinitum*, or nearly as 1 to .7642, or as 1.3 to 1.

A Roman *miliare* contained eight Roman *stadia*, and a Roman *stadium* contained $7252\frac{1}{2}$ English inches: so an English furlong is to a Roman *stadium* (or an English mile is to a Roman *miliare*) as 1 to .91571969696 *in infinitum*, or nearly as 1.09 is to 1.

From whence it is easy to reduce either Greek or Roman measures of length to English miles.

In all such calculations, it seems safest to suppose, that the authors who write in Greek, and use the words *σταδιον* or *μειλιον*, mean the Greek measures; and that the writers in Latin mean the Roman, if the contrary is not expressed.

† Book 1. sect. 50.

‡ Book 1. sect. 31.

the whole people, *συμταντος λαου*. But it is probable this can be understood only of the heads of families, or fighting men, as 3,000,000 (if it includes the whole inhabitants) was too small a number for the age of Diodorus: it is even too small for the present age, since Maillet makes Egypt contain 4,000,000 at a time when it groans under the oppression of Turkish despotism. Besides, Josephus, who lived not long after Diodorus, computes the inhabitants of Egypt at 7,500,000, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria.* Understanding Diodorus therefore as meaning the fighting men, the inhabitants of Egypt, in the age of Diodorus, were 12,000,000, and had been anciently 28,000,000.

That Egypt was very populous in times of the most remote antiquity, may be also concluded from what Herodotus observes,† that 410,000 soldiers, all native Egyptians, were sometimes kept in pay; a great army for a country of no great extent: especially as the old Egyptians were never much addicted to war, and the humour of keeping up great armies in time of peace, for making or preserving foreign conquests, seems to have begun much later. The old Egyptian army could only be intended for preserving the inward peace and police of the country. This makes it probable it bore a less proportion to the

* Book 2. chap. 16. *Of the Wars of the Jews*.

† Herod. lib. 2. p. 175.

whole people, than the great standing armies of modern kings do to the rest of their subjects. If we compare the Egyptians with the French, who are a more warlike people; compute the people of France at 16 or 20 millions, and reckon the army which the king maintains constantly at 200,000; according to this proportion, Egypt must have contained 32 or 40 millions. But the French armies must be supposed to bear a much greater proportion, than the Egyptian, to the number of the whole people.

Though we ought not to pretend to certainty in such computations, and conjectures on such subjects may often be far enough from the truth: yet if the accounts of Herodotus, of Strabo, and of Diodorus Siculus, may in any measure be depended on, and we take the medium of all the different computations of 34, 40, 28 and 32 millions, the inhabitants of Egypt may be reckoned about 34,000,000, and its populousness to that of England, as 3 to 2.

The preceding computations are formed on supposition, that antient was as large as modern Egypt.

But, if antient Egypt was less, the argument for its greater populousness is so much stronger; and that it was so, will appear probable, if we compare Egypt with Italy, the limits of which, as it is bounded by seas and mountains, are more easily ascertained. From such a comparison, we can scarce suppose that Egypt was larger or even

so large as Italy, which is only about half the bulk of modern Egypt, according to the measures in Templeman.

According to Herodotus, the breadth of Egypt, at the Mediterranean Sea, where it was greatest, was 3600 Egyptian stadii, or about 346 English miles; and its length, from north to south, about 666 English miles. * The measures in Herodotus are larger than those which either Diodorus Siculus † or Strabo ‡ assigns. Above the division of the Nile it becomes much narrower: and the only region of Egypt that was well inhabited, was that on each side of the Nile; which, in few places, according to Strabo, || contained a breadth of 300 Greek stadii, or 30 English miles.

Italy, whose limits are better fixed, is found, by the moderns, to be about 900 miles in length ¶, and, at the foot of the Alps, 560 miles in breadth; in the middle parts 136, in some scarce 25. And though in some places it is very narrow, yet, near the Alps, there is a wide extent of country.

From these measures it is probable, that Egypt was not so large as Italy; which, according to Templeman, contains only 75,576 square miles. And, if antient Egypt was no larger, instead of

* Herod. lib. 2. pag. 103, 104.

† Book 1. sect. 31.

‡ Book 17. pag. 1137, 1140, &c.

|| Book 17. pag. 1137.

¶ Universal History, vol. 11. pag. 208.

being $1\frac{1}{2}$, it must have been thrice as populous as England.

What has been observed of the extent of ancient and modern Egypt is confirmed by a passage in Strabo,* who asserts, that the ancients gave the name of Egypt only to that region which was overflowed by the Nile; but that the moderns included all the country to the east which lay between the Arabic Gulph and the Nile, and a great part towards the west, as the Ptolomys had so far extended their dominions, and the Romans succeeded to their power. Thus the limits of ancient Egypt were greatly enlarged by the Ptolomys, and, it is probable, they continue much in the same situation at present. Indeed, if something of this kind had not happened, there could have been no foundation for what Diodorus Siculus has asserted,† That antiently Egypt was the most populous country in the world: this could not be true, unless it was thrice (for we shall shew immediately that several other countries were more than thrice) as populous as England.

The accounts we have of Egypt from the memoirs of Monsieur de Maillet, a French consul who resided long in that country, render our conjectures concerning the populousness of antient Egypt not improbable. He does not indeed compute the inhabitants, in his time, at more than

* Book 17, pag. 1139. 1140.

† Book 1. Sect. 31.

four millions, and confesses that he once thought their number had never been greater; but he retracts this opinion, and declares, that after having considered the matter more maturely, he believes that Egypt contained many more people in times of remote antiquity: * an evident consequence of the account he gives of the country. We have taken notice already, that it is said to have contained in antient times 18,000 or 20,000 cities. This will not appear improbable, if we consider what Maillet has observed, that many of its antient cities have been ruined by the various revolutions it has undergone; and that by cities we must not understand only walled towns, but every village built on an higher ground, to prevent danger from the overflowing of the Nile: for the houses, in that quarter of Egypt which is covered by the waters of the river, are not built on low, but on rising grounds, either natural or artificial, and formed into villages which do † not consist only of a few houses, as in other countries where there is not the same necessity, but con-

* Lettre 1.

† Lettre 1. page 27.

Maillet, taking notice of the plains of Egypt which extend from the borders of the Nile to the mountains, has the following words:

“Ces plaines sont semées partout de gros bourgs et de villages; mais quels villages! il ne faut pas se figurer que se soient de simples hameaux. La plupart sont décorés d’édifices publics à l’usage du païs; il y en a où l’on compte des deux et trois-mille personnes; et en general, plusieurs contiennent plus d’habitans que nos grandes villes.”

tain, many of them, public edifices, and some of them have two or three thousand inhabitants. Viewing it in this light, as a country full of considerable towns, which may well be supposed each to have contained 2000 people at a medium, as some of them, such as Thebes and Memphis were very large, it will not appear incredible that the inhabitants of Egypt were above 30,000,000.

Maillet observes further, that a larger part of Egypt was cultivated antiently than at present; and that even those parts which lie at any considerable distance from the Nile are not sown; such is the bad policy of the government. This does not contradict what was said above, that antient was much less than modern Egypt, as the latter comprehends many large desarts and barren islands, both towards the east and towards the west, which were not reckoned parts of Egypt in the most antient times; notwithstanding which, there may be, and actually is, much less of Egypt cultivated now than formerly, when, by the care of its princes, the waters of the river were conveyed to a much greater distance. And, if Maillet computes 4,000,000 of inhabitants in such a small extent of country, after all things have been going to wrack for 2000 years, after so many conquests and revolutions, and under such an oppressive government and such a bad policy as the Turkish, it becomes highly probable, that in its antient and most flourishing times, under its own princes, and with the most excellent laws, when

it was much better cultivated, and a greater extent of ground taken in, it contained six or seven times as many people.

Next to Egypt let us consider Palestine, a neighbouring country of very small extent. According to Templeman, it is not one sixth part of England ; and must surely have been but a small country. Yet we find from sacred writ,* that the fighting men, exclusive of the two tribes of Levi and Benjamin, were 1,570,000. And, if we take the proportions of these two to the other 10 tribes, from their enrolments, which are marked in another passage,† we must add more than 121,000 : the whole number of fighting men amounting by this account to 1,691,000 ; and the quadruple of this last sum, or the whole number of inhabitants, to 6,674,000 : at which rate Palestine was at least five times as populous as England.

In the 4th chapter of Numbers, the Levites between 30 and 50 years of age, in the other tribes all above 20, are numbered. The proportion of the Levites ought therefore to be raised, and of course the number of fighting men and of the whole people must have been greater.

Nor is it only from one passage we conclude the Israelites were so numerous. This appears from other passages of sacred history. We find the two kings of Judah and of Israel bringing to

* 1 Chronicles xxi. 5. 6.

† Numbers i. 4.

the field no less than 1,200,000 chosen men ; * Amaziah, who was only king of Judah and Benjamin, had an army of 300,000 choice men ; † Uzziah, his successor, had 307,500 ; ‡ and Asa, one of his predecessors in the same kingdom, had yet a greater army, consisting of 580,000 : || Jehosaphat the son of Asa, had the greatest of all, consisting of 1,160,000. What a prodigious army must he have commanded, had he been sovereign of all the tribes ! ¶

As we cannot but admit that Palestine was of a very small extent, and the account of its numerous armies is taken from scripture itself, and their great numbers are expressly asserted in several different parts of it, all concurring in that particular with each other ; this argument will have a peculiar force, and almost determine the question with such as acknowledge the authority of scripture. Two things seem evident : first, That the Jewish historians have not written in much, perhaps not at all, higher terms concerning the great populousness of Palestine, than the historians of other nations concerning the numbers of people in those countries of which they write ; which both confirms the accounts of these historians, and also helps to answer an objection that might be raised against sacred writ, drawn from its representation of the vast number of the Israelites.

* 2 Chronicles xiii. 3.

† 2 Chronicles xxv. 5.

‡ 2 Chronicles xxvi. 13.

|| 2 Chronicles xiv. 8.

¶ 2 Chronicles xvii.

Secondly, we may observe, that the great populousness of Palestine in so antient an age, would altogether determine the question concerning the populousness of antient nations, were it not that it may be imputed to a miracle, as there were so many other miraculous circumstances in the history of the Israelites : for if there was no miracle in the case, no good account can be given why Palestine should have been more populous than the neighbouring countries.

The history of the Jews furnishes us with another argument for the truth of our hypothesis, as we learn from sacred writ how much they multiplied in Egypt in a very short time ; and that, at leaving it, they amounted to 600,000 fighting men ; * which not only shews how numerous the Israelites were, but is also a confirmation of the great populousness of Egypt, in times of such remote antiquity.

We proceed next to Greece, which we shall find very populous. According to Templeman's survey,

Epirus contained square miles	-	7955
Thessaly	- - - -	4650
Achaia	- - - -	3420
Peloponnesus	- - - -	7220

Sum 23,245

And of these countries alone, Greece consisted

* Exod. xii, 37. Numbers chap. i.

in its best and most flourishing times ; for Albania and Macedonia, which were somewhat larger than the other four, were not reckoned a part of Greece. Excluding these two countries, Greece was not half so large as England ; yet it contained many great cities and republics, and must have been greatly stored with people. A passage in Athenæus * will help us to form some probable conjectures about the state of Athens : for, in the times of Demetrius Phalereus, he makes its enrolled citizens amount to

	-	-	21,000
And the strangers to	-	-	10,000

Sum			31,000
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If, then, we compute each man to have had a wife and two children, the number of such as were free was 124,000.

If the family was greater, the number of ci-

* In the 6th book of his *Deipnosophists*, chap xx.

Xenophon says, that Athens contained about 10,000 houses, *Mem.* 3. which, on an average of five inhabitants to a house, amounts to 50,000.

In consequence of Pericles's law concerning legitimate descent, Plutarch relates, that 5000 persons, on enquiry, were declared to be illegitimate citizens, and that the legitimate citizens, remaining on the poll of right Athenians, were reduced by that declaration to 14,040. Hence the number of citizens, before the enquiry, was 19,040

4

tizens must have been greater in proportion. But,	
reckoning the free citizens only	- - - 124,000
And to this adding the slaves whom	
Athenæus reckons	- - - 400,000

The whole inhabitants of Attica were	524,000
If we compute six free persons in each family,	
then the number of free persons was	186,000
And that of slaves	- - - 400,000

Sum 586,000

Now Attica was only a part of what was called properly Greece or Achaia, which contained several other districts, * viz. Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Ozolæa, Phocis, Megaris, Bœotia, and Locris Epicnemidia; and, though some of these states were small, others of them were considerable, and were sometimes the rivals of Athens itself. All the seven, together with Attica, according to Templeman, contained only 3420 square miles; and though Attica appears to have been larger than any of the rest, except Bœotia, its territory could not have been greater than one fourth of Achaia, or contained more than 855 square miles. But, supposing it had contained 1000, it was not, at this rate, the 23d part of Greece; and if all Greece was peopled in the same proportion, it contained above 12,000,000.

If Attica contained only 855 square miles,

* See Cluverius, book 4. chap. viii.

this makes the inhabitants of Greece more than 14,000,000. If it was only one fifth of Achaia, it raises the number to more than 17,000,000. Taking the medium of these three last computations, their number amounts to more than 14,000,000. At which rate, if Greece had been as large as England, it would have contained more than 29,000,000, and been near four times as populous; and, considering what a mighty people the Greeks were, how surprising soever this may appear to the great admirers of modern policy, it is far from being improbable. The great strength of the Athenian state, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, is evident from the losses they sustained; 200 triremes had perished in Egypt with all that was in them; 150 near Cyprus; in Pontus 10,000 men completely armed, partly citizens, partly allies; in Sicily, 40,000 men, and 240 triremes; 200 in the Hellespont; and so many men were killed by thousands and two thousands, and so many ships lost by tens and by fives, that Isocrates, from whom this account is taken, says it was needless to mention them. These things happened in a very short time. *

That the other countries in Greece, (besides Attica) and the neighbouring islands, were well peopled, is evident from the whole of their history. Athenæus in the passage quoted above, in which he takes notice of the Athenians having

* Isocrat. de pace, edit. Cantabrigiæ, 1686, pag. 290, 291.

400,000 slaves, asserts also, that the Arcadians had 300,000; the Corinthians 460,000; and the republic of Ægina 470,000, though it seems not to have had any other territory, but that small island of the same name, which, according to Strabo,* was only 180, or, according to another reading, 150, Greek stadii in circuit, that is, by the largest account, about 20 English miles. Now where there was such a great number of slaves, we must conclude that there was proportionally a great number of free citizens; and, upon the whole, that Greece was extremely populous.

Plutarch, in the Life of Lycurgus, takes notice, that there were 9000 citizens in Sparta, 30,000 in the rest of Laconia, in whole 39,000; and as slaves seem rather to have been more numerous at Sparta than at Athens, the territory of Laconia must have been very populous. The whole region of Peloponnesus consisted only of 7220 square miles; and besides Laconia, it contained Achaia, (properly so called) Elis, Messenia, Arcadia, and Argolis.†

The island of Eubœa, (now Negropont) situated near the coast of Attica, appears in both ancient and modern maps to have been a good deal larger than the whole Athenian territory: according to Templeman, it contains only 1300 square

* Lib. 8. p. 576.

† Cluver. Introduct. geograph. lib. 4. cap. 7.

miles. This confirms the former computation of the small extent of Attica.

Italy was likewise very populous before the Romans conquered its free cities. About the age of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome, there were powerful states in the southern parts of it, particularly in Magna Græcia. The state of Sybaris alone, as Diodorus relates, * sent an army of 300,000 men against the Crotonienses, who met them with 100,000. At this rate, these two neighbouring states had about a million and a half of inhabitants, even supposing they had no more fighting men than they brought to the field, which could scarcely be the case.

Strabo † gives the same account of Sybaris; and adds, that it was about 200 Greek stadii, or 25 Greek miles distant from Croton, was 50 Greek stadii, or $6\frac{1}{4}$ Greek miles in circuit, and commanded four neighbouring nations or tribes, and 25 cities. According to the same author, ‡ there were several other considerable states and cities in Great Greece. Particularly, the Tarentines were a powerful people, and could raise 30,000 foot, 3000 horse, and 1000 officers of horse; besides they had a good fleet; and all the country around Tarentum was anciently full of people. Yet Magna Græcia was only a part of what is called the kingdom of Naples at present, which is but a little more than two-fifths of England.

* Lib. 12. cap. 9. † Lib. 6. p. 404. ‡ Lib. 6. p. 429.

“ We may reckon,” says Mr Addison, * “ by a very moderate computation, more inhabitants in the Campania of old Rome, than are now in all Italy.”

But we shall best understand the ancient strength of that country, and the powerful and populous states of which it consisted, by considering the long struggle maintained by them against the Romans, and the slow progress of the Roman empire, notwithstanding the vast numbers and great bravery of this warlike people.

Rome arose from the smallest and most contemptible beginning. When † Romulus founded the city, his subjects consisted only of 3000 foot and 300 horse; but, at his death, after a reign of 37 years, he left 46,000 foot, and near 1000 horse, within a very small territory. Neither did the territory of Rome in after-times increase in proportion to the numbers of the people. Even at the death of Camillus, about 388 years after the building of the city, the Roman territory was very small, and did not extend beyond 20 or 24 English miles around Rome. During this period, the Romans had only made war against their nearest neighbours, within a few miles of their city. The war with the Samnites, whose country was at no great distance, began

* Travels.

† Dionys. Halicarn. edit. Frankfort, 1586, folio, p. 74. 78. 79.

only about the 420th year after the building of the city. Eutropius remarks, that it was about that time the Romans began to be powerful; * for they carried on a war at Samnium, almost 130 Roman miles from the city. It was not till about the year of Rome 450, that they made any considerable impression upon Etruria. The war with the Tarantines began only about the 477th year of Rome. But during this period of 400 years, the people had increased prodigiously.

The Census was not instituted till the time of Servius Tullius, who began his reign about the 175th year of the city. Livy has observed, † that at the first Census, 80,000 Roman citizens were inrolled; and another historian whom he quotes, relates, that all of them were able to carry arms. All the particular inrolments made at different times, are collected together, and may be seen at one view in Vossius's book of various observations. ‡ In the year 245, the Census consisted of 130,000: in the year 256, 150,700 were inrolled: after the year 400, and between that and the 500, the Census was sometimes 250,000, sometimes 278,000, and sometimes 292,224. Du-

* "Jam Romani potentes esse cœperant; bellum enim in centesimo et tricesimo ferè milliario ab urbe apud Samnites gerebatur," *Eutropius*, lib. 2. cap. 8.

† "Millia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur. Adjicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, eorum, qui ferre arma possent, eum numerum fuisse." *Liv.* lib. 1. cap. 4.

‡ P. 26.

ring most of this period, the Roman territory was very small. How must it then have been crowded with inhabitants? the inrolments were only of free citizens, not of slaves. These the Romans neither inlisted in their armies, nor inrolled as citizens, but in cases of necessity, though they had slaves in great numbers from the beginning of their state.

Another proof of the great numbers of the Romans is, their being constantly engaged in war, and having so many of their men killed almost every year. From whence it is evident, that if their small country had not been populous to an extraordinary degree, it could never have been able to furnish their armies with such constant reinforcements, amidst such continual battles; in which though they were commonly, yet they were not always superior, but several times suffered great losses, and often paid dear for their victories: notwithstanding which, they were always able to raise great armies. So greatly did they abound in people!

Nor was the populousness of Italy confined to that part of it which belonged to the Romans, but extended to the other powerful states and republics, of which this ancient country consisted.

Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ.

If we consider that the Romans had a great number of fighting men; that they were a brave and warlike people; that they only attacked one of the nations of Italy at once, and artfully shunned, as much as possible, to be engaged with different states at the same time; that they were constantly engaged with one or other of them, and made a trade of war; that notwithstanding this, they made very slow progress, and had conquered but a little even in 400 years; we must admit, that those different states of Italy were each of considerable power and strength. This is exactly agreeable to the Roman history, which represents the Romans, during 400 years after the building of their city, struggling with states as great or greater than their own, and subduing them at length, only by means of superior obstinacy and valour.

Indeed, on an accurate review of the history of the Italians, during this period, we shall wonder how such vast multitudes could be raised, as were engaged in those continual wars, till Italy was entirely subdued.

Thus Italy was populous before the Romans enslaved it. Nor is it perhaps so certain, as some may imagine, that its inhabitants increased after the Roman conquests. Rome became a mighty city indeed; but it may be a question, whether its greatness was able to balance the destruction and havock it occasioned among the other cities.

That it was not able to do so, is not a little probable. Livy seems to have decided it on this side; when, mentioning the greatness of the armies of the Volsci and Æqui, he accounts for it* in this manner, “That there was an innumerable multitude of free citizens in those places, where afterwards there were only slaves, and a small seminary or nursery of soldiers.”

Thucydides affirms, † that Syracuse was a city in no respect inferior to Athens.

Sicily was likewise well peopled before the times of Alexander the Great, and contained several powerful states. The greatness and wealth of Syracuse has been much celebrated. According to Tully, it was the greatest of all the cities possessed by the Greeks. ‡ And Strabo § hath observed, it was surrounded with a wall of 180 Greek stadii, or $22\frac{1}{2}$ Greek miles. It was, indeed, the greatest and most powerful, but not

* “Mihi miraculo fuit, unde toties victis Volscis et Æquis suffecerint milites.—Simile veri est, aut intervallis bellorum, sicut nunc in delectibus sit Romanis, aliâ atque aliâ sobole juniorum ad bella instauranda toties usos esse: aut non ex iisdem semper populis exercitus scriptos, quanquam eadem semper gens bellum intulerit: aut innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis, quæ nunc, vix seminario exiguo militum relicto, servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant.” *Liv.* lib. 6. cap. 12.

† B. 7.

‡ “Urbem Syracusas, maximam esse Græcarum urbium, pulcherrimamque omnium, sæpe audistis. Est, judices, ita ut dicitur.”

Accusat. in Verrem. lib. 4. edit. Lond. fol. 1631, p. 279.

§ Lib. 6. p. 415

the only powerful city of Sicily ; as appears evidently from the vast armies the Carthaginians sent against the Sicilians, the difficulty with which so rich and powerful a people gained and preserved their conquests, and the blood and treasure it cost them to get any considerable footing in this small island.

Agrigentum, in particular, is said to have contained no fewer than 200,000 natives and strangers. Now if these are reckoned only the heads of families, or the fighting men, the inhabitants must have been above 800,000; but supposing the whole inhabitants only 200,000, Agrigentum was a populous and mighty city. It was likewise splendid, and abounded with sumptuous buildings ;* and some of its citizens were immensely rich. When Gelon the prætor of Syracuse had destroyed the Carthaginian army which was besieging Hymera, and had taken a great number of captives, he made a present to some of the citizens of Agrigentum of 500 slaves a-piece.† In the time of the elder Dionysius, one of the citizens was so rich, that he kept open house for all passengers ; and he is said to have entertained at one time 500 riders, who came from Gela, and when they departed, (it being in winter,) he furnished all of them with clothes,

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 13. § 84. 90.

† Diod. Sic. lib. 11. § 25.

ἱματῖα καὶ χιτῶνας, out of his own wardrobe. * Pollicitus the historian, as quoted by Diodorus Siculus, † saw, in his cellar, a quantity of wine, which in our measure amounts to more than 3414 English hogsheads.

But the wealth and power of Sicily may especially be learned from the greatness of Syracuse, which, notwithstanding, could never gain the dominion of the whole island. If we consider its other states, the footing which the Carthaginians had in it, and that the whole is not so large as the fifth part of England, we must needs acknowledge, that the territory of Syracuse was very small; yet Syracuse was able to defend itself against the most powerful maritime states in those ages.

The Carthaginians were very powerful at that time, and had made several attempts on Sicily, before they were engaged in any wars with the Romans. History takes notice of their having equipt prodigious fleets and armies in this view. ‡ In Gelon's time they sent a fleet of 2000 ships of war, and 3000 transports, with an army of 300,000 men on board, under the command of Hamilcar. This is the account of Diodorus Siculus; and Herodotus agrees with him in the number of the army, 300,000, *τριακοντα μυριαδες*. § Under the command of this Hamilcar's grandson, they sent ano-

* Diod. Sic. lib. 13. § 83.

† Ibid.

‡ Diod. Sic. book 11. § 20.

§ Herodot. book 7. p. 499.

ther great army in a fleet of 60 great ships, and 1500 transports. According to the account of Ephorus, mentioned in Diodorus Siculus,* this army consisted of 200,000 foot, and 4000 horse; but Timæus, quoted by the same author, computes them to have been only a few more than 100,000. Soon after this they sent another grand fleet and army under the same commander, † consisting, according to Ephorus, of 300,000 men, according to Timæus, of 120,000, in a fleet of 1000 transports, besides many ships of war. Not long afterwards, they sent an army against the elder Dionysius, of 300,000 foot, 4000 horse, 400 chariots, with a fleet of 400 ships of war, and more than 600 transports. This is the account given by Ephorus in Diodorus Siculus; ‡ but Timæus makes the army consist only of 100,000 men. And though this army was almost entirely destroyed, they sent another against the same Dionysius, of 80,000 men §. But notwithstanding all these mighty fleets and armies, they could not gain much ground against the Syracusians, and were several times repulsed with great loss.

It was in the reign of Gelon, that Syracuse began to make such a shining figure. He lived at the time of Xerxes's expedition against Greece; and if the Greeks would have given him the

* Diod. Sic. book 15. § 54.

† Diod. Sic. book 13. § 80.

‡ Diod. Sic. lib. 14. cap. 54.

§ Diod. Sic. book 14. § 95.

chief command, which he thought he might well pretend to, as he had more numerous forces than either the Athenians or the Lacedemonians, offered to supply them with 200 triremes, 20,000 men completely armed, 2000 horse, 2000 bowmen, 2000 slingers, 2000 light horse; and besides, to furnish all the Greek army with corn during the whole time of the war.* This shews his power, and the strength of Syracuse in those early times. To raise the siege of Himera, against which the Carthaginians had encamped with 300,000 men, he levied 50,000 foot and 5000 horse, and defeated them;† and as powerful as the Carthaginians were, the elder Dionysius ventured to make war upon them. With which view he prepared in a short time 140,000 shields, as many darts and helmets, and a great quantity of other arms of various sorts, a fleet of 200 new and 110 old ships, perfectly well repaired, and began the war with 80,000 foot, 3000 horse, 200 ships of war, and 500 transports.‡ The younger Dionysius§ had an army of 100,000 foot, 10,000 horse, a fleet of 400 ships of war, with magazines of provisions, and treasures sufficient to maintain and pay them. Princes capable of undertaking such great de-

* Herodot. lib. 7. p. 496. 497.

† Diod. Sic. book 11. § 21.

‡ Diod. Sic. book 14, § 42. 43. 47.

§ Diod. Sic. book 16, § 9.

signs, and of preparing such numerous fleets and armies, must surely have had great numbers of people, as well as great riches in their dominions; and unless Sicily, though it is less than one-fifth of England, be acknowledged to have been little inferior to it in riches and in numbers of people, it is hardly possible to account for the great transactions which happened, and the mighty armaments which were raised and supported in it, during the space almost of 300 years, from the time that Gelon made himself master of Syracuse, till it was conquered by the Romans.

In the time of Antigonus, the youth of Gaul, Justin affirms, * filled Asia like a swarm; and in all their wars, the princes of the East hired them to fight their battles; a circumstance which adds considerably to the credit of the accounts given by him and by others about the vast armies which, under Brennus, Belgius, and others, overran Macedonia and the neighbouring countries. †

Before the Roman conquests, the Gauls were a great and populous nation. Gaul was indeed an extensive country; for it contained not only all France, but a considerable part of the Netherlands, and some part of Switzerland; but it seems to have been equally populous, nay, to have contained more inhabitants than the same extent of country does at present, though some of the best

* Lib. 25. c. 2.

† Lib. 24, 25, &c.

peopled spots in Europe, and even the province of Holland itself are included.

According to Cæsar's description, Gaul was divided into small states, many of which could send numerous armies into the field. When Cæsar first invaded the country, its inhabitants were not in the same barbarous state as the Germans, and other northern nations, who, according to Strabo,* did not exercise agriculture, nor lay up the fruits of the earth, but, living in cottages which they could raise in a day, subsisted chiefly by their flocks, like the Nomades; and therefore were obliged frequently to change their places of abode for want of provisions, transporting their families and furniture in carts, and wandering from place to place with their cattle. His account of Gaul is quite different: Narbonne (says he) produces all kinds of fruits that grow in Italy. Farther north, the soil yields every thing, except oil, figs, and ripe grapes; all the rest of Gaul produces much corn and other grain, and is stocked with cattle of all kinds. There is no part of it uncultivated, but the marshes and the woods, occasioned, as he observes, by the men's being too much addicted to war. But as he admits at the same time, that multitudes lived even in these marshy and woody grounds, which were not sufficiently taken care of, the country in general must have been well peopled. It is

* Lib. 7. p. 446.

true, the Gauls resembled the Germans in many of their customs and institutions, as well as in their fierceness, bulk, and in their colour; but they were much more civilized, and neglected neither commerce nor agriculture. *

Cæsar, in describing the manners and the customs of these two nations, gives much the same representation with Strabo. † Formerly, says he, the Gauls were superior in valour to the Germans, and as they had not lands sufficient for the multitude of their people, they used to send colonies beyond the Rhine; but they were become inferior to the Germans in his time, which he imputes to their growing commerce: and it seems evident, that the Gauls did not, as the Germans, live by pasturage and by hunting, but that when Cæsar invaded them, they were possessed of flourishing and powerful cities, and had many appearances of wealth and greatness.

The flourishing condition and mighty opulence of the Gallic states, ‡ appears from that immense treasure at Tholouse, which, according to Posi-

* Strabo, lib. 4. p. 268. 269.

† Of the Germans he relates: "Vita omnis in venationibus, atque in studiis rei militaris consistit.—Agriculturne non student; majorque pars victus eorum in lacte, caseo, carne consistit. Neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios.—Civitatibus maxima laus est, quam latissimas circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere." *Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 21. 22. 23.*

‡ "Ac fuit antea tempus, quum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem, agrique inopiam, trans Rhenum colonias mitterent.—Gallis autem pro-

donius, on whom Strabo * chiefly relies, amounted to 15,000 talents of gold and silver in bullion. This treasure (had it been wholly silver) would have been worth 2,561,250*l.* sterling; but had it been wholly gold, according to the modern proportion of gold to silver, that is, 16 to 1. its value had been above 40 millions: it must at any rate have been a vast treasure for one place; and as the Gauls had several sacred treasures in other places, what an idea must we have of their immense wealth!

As the Gauls wanted neither silver nor gold, they abounded also in people; which may be concluded from the great armies they drew together, on several occasions, to oppose Cæsar.

In the second book of his Commentaries, † he gives a particular list of the levies made in Belgium; and on this occasion

The Bellovaci undertook to raise	60,000
The Suessiones	50,000
The Nervii	50,000
The Atrebates,	15,000
The Ambiani	10,000

Carry forward, 185,000

vinciæ propinquitas, et transmarinarum rerum notitia, multa ad copiam atque usus largitur. Paullatim adsuefacti superari, multisque victi præliis, ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute comparant.

Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 24.

* Lib. 4. p. 287.

† Cæsar in Bell. Gall. lib. 2. cap. 4.

	Brought forward,	185,000
The Morini	-	25,000
The Menapii	-	9,000
The Caleti	-	10,000
The Velocases and Veromandui	-	10,000
The Aduatuci	-	19,000
The Germani	-	40,000
	Sum	298,000

Now we cannot suppose that this was a levy of all the fighting men in Belgium. Cæsar's information was, that the Bellovaci could have brought 100,000 to the field, though they engaged only for 60,000. Taking the whole therefore in this proportion of 10 to 6, the sum of fighting men in all the states of Belgium was 496,666 ; and quadrupling this last number, Belgium must have had 1,986,664 inhabitants, whom we may suppose to be free, or not employed in servile offices. *

But besides those who were inlisted in their armies, there was certainly a great number, who were of no account in war ; for among the Gauls, as well as several other nations, there were many who were either in the condition of slaves, or only employed in agriculture, and in such mechanic arts as were thought unworthy of brave men.

* In some copies of Cæsar's Commentaries, the Aduatuci send 29,000, instead of 19,000, as it is stated in the preceding calculation ; at which rate the fighting men in all Belgium would have been 513,333 : so we may reckon them about half a million.

This appears from what Cæsar relates, * when he treats of the different orders among the Gauls, and divides such as were of any account into two sorts, the Druids and the Equites: the rest he calls Plebes, and describes them as slaves; but the Equites are warriors: for when any war arises, *omnes in bello versantur*. Does not this suggest, that when levies of the Gauls for fighting against Cæsar are mentioned, the Plebes must scarcely be considered, as they were left to labour the ground, or to work at meaner employments? And if we make this lower order of persons to have been thrice as numerous as the rest; a proportion confirmed from what was the case at Athens, and may be observed in most places, that the laborious working people are much more numerous than their masters, we must reckon the inhabitants of Belgium about 8,000,000.

Now Belgium does not appear to have been larger than the fourth part of Gaul: for it was bounded, on the one side by the Rhine, on the other by the ocean, and on the third by the rivers

* “ In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo: nam plebes pæne *servorum* habetur loco, quæ per se nihil audet, et nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique, quum aut ære alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus. *In hos eadem omnia sunt jura, quæ dominis in servos*. Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est Druidum, alterum est Equitum.—Alterum genus est Equitum. Hi quum est usus, atque aliquod bellum incidet, omnes in bello versantur.”

Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 13. 15.

Seyne and Marne. But Gaul was bounded on one side by the Alps, which divided it from Italy, next by the Rhine, which divided it from Germany, and on all other sides by the ocean, except where the Pyrennees divided it from Spain. This was a vast tract of land; and if it was four times greater than Belgium, (and it does not appear to have been less), we may compute 32 millions of inhabitants in Gaul.

In another passage, Cæsar* gives an account of numerous levies which the Gauls resolved to make in order to raise the siege of Alesia, where Vercingetorix had shut himself up with a great army. In this measure, though they shewed great spirit and unanimity, yet it is certain, that they could not make a levy through the whole extent of Gaul; for a considerable part of it was in subjection to the Romans, and, by the situation of Cæsar's army, it would have been impossible for several of the provinces to have sent their quotas. We may even suppose, that they would not be entirely free from dissention, and that some of the states would be backward in joining. Besides, at a general council of the chiefs, it was resolved that all the fighting men should not be raised, lest their great number should occasion confusion, and it should be impossible to maintain them; but that every state should send only a certain number. By compa-

* Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. 7. cap. 75. 76.

ring this with the passage in the second book, which mentions the levies in Belgium, it will appear that this levy was very small in proportion to what Gaul could have furnished before it was so miserably wasted by Cæsar. For the Bellovaci, before the war, could have raised 100,000 men; but 10,000 are only demanded at this time: the Nervii, who, in the second book, offered 50,000, are only marked for 5000: the Morini for no more, though they had offered 25,000: the Atrebatæ for 4000, though they are formerly marked for 15,000. And from the consideration of all circumstances, it may be conjectured, that, as all the states of Gaul neither were, nor could be concerned in this levy; and, as so small a proportion was demanded from those which agreed to it, the army they raised on this occasion, was not the tenth part of the Equites, or such as were commonly employed in war, through the whole extent of Gaul, at the time that this nation was first invaded by Cæsar.

Now the army they actually raised in

this manner was	-	-	248,000
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Hence the number of free citizens able

to fight	-	-	2,480,000
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The quadruple of this last is the number

of free citizens	-	-	9,920,000
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And thrice the last sum is the number

of the Plebes or slaves	-	29,760,000
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Hence the number of the whole people

is	-	39,680,000
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Though the preceding numbers may appear high to such as have not been used to speculations of this kind, and are apt to measure antiquity by their own confined views, and by the prejudices of modern times; they will be yet more surprised, on being informed, that other historians have assigned larger numbers than Cæsar. According to Plutarch, * Cæsar in his Gallic wars took more than 800 cities, subdued 300 nations or tribes of people, fought against three millions of men in his several battles; killed one million and made one million prisoners. Now, supposing these 3,000,000 to have been all the men in Gaul, that were commonly employed in war, there must have been 12,000,000 of this sort; and, if we add thrice as many slaves, the whole number of inhabitants was 48,000,000.

Or, if we suppose that the 3,000,000 against whom Cæsar fought, were composed of the Equites and Plebes, without distinction; it is not reasonable to think, that a third, nay, we can hardly reckon that more than a fourth part of

* Plutarch in Cæsar. edit. Francofurt. fol. 1599. pag. 714. 715.

In the Life of Pompey, the numbers are different, and Cæsar is said to have taken by force 1000 cities, subdued more than 300 nations, killed one million of men, and taken another million prisoners, pag. 655. This difference in the numbers does not so much destroy the authority of the testimony, as it shews, in general, what an high opinion the ancients entertained of the populousness of Gaul,

the men able to bear arms, were levied on this occasion. If they were a fourth part, the number of fighting men, of all sorts, was 12,000,000, and the number of the whole people 48,000,000, as before. If we suppose them to have been a third part, the number of fighting men was 9,000,000, and of the whole people 36,000,000.

As Plutarch, in both passages, computes the number which Cæsar killed to have been one million, unless we affirm that he killed more than a thirtieth part of the whole people, the Gauls must have been 30,000,000.

In all these calculations, formed on the accounts given by Plutarch, we must exclude the Druids and their families, as they were wholly exempted from war, which will proportionally increase the number of the inhabitants of Gaul.

In fine, in whatever light we view it, this part of Europe appears to have been more populous in the days of Cæsar, than ever it has been since, and never to have recovered the flourishing state in which ancient history represents it, before it was attacked and ravaged by that mighty conqueror.

I shall not attempt any more calculations; though, no doubt, many others might be made, were all the ancient authors inspected with such care and accuracy as the subject deserves. I shall only observe further, that it seems probable, that several other countries were anciently more populous than they are at present, though it is dif-

ficult to find materials for forming particular calculations. This is the condition of almost all the islands in the Mediterranean and Ægean seas, which, in the happy days of Greece, were full of people; of Lesser Asia, which flourished so greatly in ancient times; of the whole coast of the Mediterranean Sea, on the African side, or, at least, of a great part of it; of Colchis, and the tract which lies between the Euxine and the Caspian seas; of the ancient Hyrcania, and other countries on the north or north-east of Persia, where, according to Pliny, there were anciently many populous and flourishing nations or tribes; but scarcely any thing is found at present save forests and desarts. Among other things, Pliny* mentions a city in Colchis called Dioscurias, which was deserted in his time (*nunc deserta*), but so considerable of old, that, according to Timosthenes, 300 nations, all of different languages, traded with it; and that even, in later times, the Romans had 130 interpreters for carrying on their commerce in this country. He mentions another city (*oppidum opulentissimum*) that had been plundered by the Heniochi. This shews, that these parts of the world had anciently flourished, but were then in the decline. That little tract of land which lies betwixt the Euxine Sea and the Palus Mæotis, the parts around this lake, the greater and lesser Armenia, Albania, Iberia,

* Hist, Nat. lib. 6. cap. 5,

and those countries which lie towards the south and the east of the Caspian Sea, contained many different nations, and several great cities. A considerable commerce was carried on between Europe and India, by means of some great rivers which communicated with one another, and with the Caspian and Euxine seas. Much the same account is given by Strabo* of the populousness and the commerce of those countries: but, in later ages, they have all been dispeopled, and scarce a vestige remains of what they were in ancient days.

It must be observed, at the same time, in favour of modern policy, that there have been great changes to the better in some countries. Our island of Britain has been fortunate in a peculiar manner, and from that ancient rudeness and barbarity with which it was overwhelmed in the flourishing ages of Greece and of Rome, has gradually reared its head. How much would Cæsar or Agricola be surprised to see the once inconsiderable and despised Britain,

—*Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos,*

now become an abode of peace and seat of liberty! Happy island! studious of agriculture, flourishing in arts, and enriched by commerce.

But other countries have not been so fortunate.

* Lib. 11. pag. 762. 763. 764. 765. 772. 773. 776. 777. 782. 783.

Besides, from the preceding calculations it appears, that even Britain itself, and the nations that are most civilized at present, are not near so populous as those regions of the earth which were best cultivated in ancient times : so that it may be a question, Whether the happier condition of Britain, and of some other places, is able to compensate the ruin and destruction of so many ancient nations?

Having thus travelled along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea ; taken a view of Egypt, Palestine, Greece, Italy, Sicily, and Gaul ; and, from particular calculations, formed some probable conjectures about the superior populousness of these countries in ancient times ; we proceed to inquire into the causes of this phænomenon. And, if we shall find that ancient policy, ancient manners, and ancient customs, were better calculated to make nations great and populous, than modern policy, modern manners, and modern customs ; this will be an argument *a priori*, for the truth of that hypothesis, which we have endeavoured to establish *a posteriori*.

Now these causes are either physical or moral.

Any alterations which have happened in the temperature of the air, any decay of heat in the sun, or diminution of the salubrity and nourishing virtue of the earth, are physical causes, which may be thought to have an effect on vegetable and animal bodies, and either prevent generatior

or cut off greater numbers in all the different periods of life.

Causes of this nature may be supposed to operate in the same climates in different ages, and in different climates in the same age. Mankind may be greatly wasted by plagues and by famines, and a fruitful land may become a desert. Yet neither do causes of this kind seem sufficient for explaining the phænomenon of so great a decay of people. Nor indeed does it appear that there has been any such alteration in the state of nature as could make any considerable difference, either over all the earth, or in particular regions. We do not therefore build on natural causes of this sort.

There may, however, be natural causes of another kind, which may have produced no inconsiderable effects. Thus some diseases, unknown to antiquity, may have made great havock in modern times: among these, two are remarkable, the *Lues Venerea*, and the *Small Pox*; concerning which the learned author of *An Essay on the Vital and other involuntary Motions of Animals*, was pleased to give me his opinion in the following words:

“ Among the natural causes which have contributed in latter times, to lessen the number of inhabitants in Europe and the western parts of Asia, the *Small Pox* and *Lues Venerea* are not the least remarkable. The former disease seems to have made its appearance in the world much

about the same time with Mahomet; the first who mentions it being one Aaron, a priest and physician of Alexandria in Egypt, who flourished about the year 622: nor was the small-pox known in Europe to the Greek physicians till after the year 640. It appears from pretty exact accounts, that in several towns of Yorkshire, and some other places of England, and in Boston in New England, the small-pox carry off about 2 of 11 who are seized with them;* but as other countries may be more healthful in this respect, and as many people escape this disease altogether, we cannot, from the above account, determine what proportion of the whole race of mankind die of the small-pox. Doctor Jurin, however, from a comparison of the bills of mortality in London for 42 years, has shewn, that in and about this metropolis, above one-fourteenth part of all those who are born, die of this disease:† and as it is reasonable to imagine, that other places in Europe may not be more healthful in this respect than London, we may fairly conclude, that one-fourteenth part of mankind are carried off by the small-pox, and these mostly in their younger years, before they can have any children. Now, as there is no ancient disease that has ceased in latter ages, which was near so destructive, the small-pox may be justly numbered among the

* Philosoph. Transact. Abrid. vol. 7, p. 616.

† Philosoph. Transact. Abrid. vol. 7, p. 613, &c.

causes which have contributed to dispeople the world.

“ The *Lues Venerea*, or great-pox, made its first remarkable appearance in Europe, at the siege of Naples, *anno* 1493. At first it made great havoc : and although it is not now near so mortal as the small-pox, yet as it frequently renders both sexes unfruitful, or at best debilitates them, so as to make their posterity sickly, infirm, and often barren, it may be justly questioned, which of these diseases have had the worst effects in lessening the numbers of mankind. Further, it merits consideration, whether the growing luxury of each succeeding age. does not deserve a place here, as by this diseases are at the same time rendered more frequent, and much less obedient to the usual remedies.”

But notwithstanding the bad effects of particular diseases, or other physical causes which may be assigned, such causes alone are by no means sufficient. To account for the phenomenon in a more perfect and more satisfactory manner, recourse must be had to moral causes ; such as, 1. Difference of religion, and of religious or moral institutions ; 2. Different customs with respect to servants, and the maintenance of the poor ; 3. Different rules of succession to estates ; and the right of primogeniture ; 4. The little encouragement given to marriage in modern times ; 5. The great number of soldiers in the standing armies of Europe ; 6. Too extensive trade ; 7. Neglect of agriculture ; 8. The different extent

of ancient and modern governments; 9. The ruin of the ancient states by the greater monarchies, especially by the Roman empire; 10. And last of all, the loss of that ancient simplicity which had long prevailed.* Some of these causes will appear to be more powerful than others; but each of them, I presume, must have had its influence, and all of them together been able to produce those great alterations.

First, Religion cannot be without its influence. It is surely of great importance, that it do not teach doctrines, or inculcate precepts, unfriendly to society. Now, there have been two great changes in religion since the more ancient times; for, instead of Paganism, first Christianity, and afterwards Mahometanism, have been introduced and established. Let us consider their different effects.

As polygamy is an hinderance to the propagation of mankind, Christianity cannot have any

* Some perhaps may imagine, that the greater tyranny and oppression of many modern governments, is alone sufficient to account for the great depopulation of the world, as it cannot be doubted, that despotic and arbitrary power has had a baneful influence, and caused in France, Spain, Italy, Greece, the Grecian Islands, Lesser Asia, and other countries, a scarcity of people, extraordinary, compared with the vast abundance of ancient times. But besides this obvious one, there must be some other hidden sources of decay; as the former calculations make it credible, that even the most populous and most flourishing nations at present, and those which enjoy the greatest liberty, such as England and Switzerland, are far from being so populous, as the more civilized nations of antiquity.

bad influence in this respect; on the contrary, it must be profitable to society. Whatever strange and wonderful accounts have been given of the disproportion between males and females, and of the last being far more numerous in some eastern nations; according to the best observations which have been made in the western world, the proportion between the births of males and of females appears to be nearly equal. To provide therefore most equally for the whole human race, and make all of them most useful in propagating, one man ought to be allowed to marry only one woman at once. Polygamy, by which many men are deprived of wives, and several women, being married to one man, become less fruitful, must have a baneful influence. Hence Mahometanism is pernicious in this respect; and if, to the influence of polygamy, we add the institution of eunuchs for guarding the fair, and of female slaves who assist these eunuchs, and who seldom marry; this must have no inconsiderable effect in all those countries, where the Mahometan religion is established at present, and where polygamy and eunuchs were not allowed in ancient times. This is the case with the more eastern places of Europe, and western parts of Asia. But the changes that have been wrought in those nations which are situated farther to the East, cannot be accounted for in this way, since polygamy prevailed and eunuchs swarmed in those countries from very ancient times.

Some reckon the difficulty of obtaining divorces, according to the Christian institution, another hinderance of the increase of mankind, as persons may be childless by being improperly matched, though either of them might have children in another marriage, if divorces could be easily obtained. But, as there are many dangers both to parents and to children from allowing divorces to be procured too easily ; and as any loss sustained by the difficulty of procuring them, is more than compensated by other advantages ; allowing divorces merely for want of children, must have but an inconsiderable effect, as few instances can be supposed, where a married couple, pleased in other respects, would separate on this account alone.

Neither ought it to be reproached to the Christian religion, if any of the sacred writers should be found to declare, that celibacy is preferable to marriage in some particular situations, since this was always the case, and is a most just reason for not marrying, as circumstances may be so discouraging, that neither of the sexes are obliged to marry, merely from public spirit, and to raise up citizens to the world.

But though Christianity in its genuine purity, is not unfriendly to society ; like the best institutions, it may be abused, and perverted to pernicious purposes. It must indeed be confessed, that a dangerous opinion, unfavourable to propa-

gation, as if celibacy was to be preferred to marriage, crept in very early into the church; neither perhaps shall we be able to justify every edict of the Christian emperors on this head; and it has been yet more unfortunate, that this opinion gained ground daily. Undoubtedly the great number of unmarried priests in all the Roman catholic countries, which make so great a part of Europe, and the multitude of women who live unmarried in convents, and who profess perpetual virginity, foolishly imagining celibacy a more holy state than marriage, may justly be accounted one of the causes of the scarcity of people in all the countries under the pope's dominion.* This superstitious and dangerous tenet most justly deserves to be esteemed a doctrine of those devils, who are the seducers and destroyers of mankind,† and is very suitable to the views and the designs of a church, which has discovered such an enormous ambition, and made such havoc of the human race, in order to raise, to establish, and to preserve an usurped and tyrannical power. Besides, as so great a part of the riches of every popish country is in the hands of priests and of religious houses, this must hurt

* It will not destroy the force of this argument, that, in the popish countries, abstinence from marriage often proceeds rather from policy, and from interested views, than from devotion; for as devotion is often at bottom, so even when it is otherwise, it is the pernicious policy of the popish church, which gives an opportunity to execute such dangerous schemes.

† 1 Tim. iv. 1. 3.

trade, and prevent the culture of the lands, which cannot but have a bad effect in diminishing the numbers of the people.

Secondly. Another cause of the scarcity of people in modern times, is the difference of ancient and modern customs, with respect to servants, and to the maintenance of the poor.

For many ages Europe has been overrun with vast multitudes of beggars, and has also abounded with such, as, having no substance of their own, can support themselves only by daily labour. As frequently neither the first of these can be comfortably supported by begging, nor the second by the profits of their labour; and few of either kind are able to provide for more than themselves, little can be expected from persons in this situation: for either they do not marry at all, which in particular is the case of vast numbers of servants in modern times; or their marriages are not fruitful; or their children die, or become sickly and useless, through the poverty or negligence of their parents. According to Templeman, there are 1,500,000 inhabitants in Scotland, among whom it has been computed,* that there are no fewer than 100,000 beggars or poor people, supported solely at the expence of others:

* This is the computation of that worthy patriot, and ingenious inquirer into political institutions, Mr Fletcher of Salton. See his works printed at Glasgow, 1749, p. 100. Probably this computation is too high, as well as Templeman's, of the whole people of Scotland.

and if to these we add the vast multitude of the lower sort, in different employments, who are pinched with poverty; as this is the case almost every where in Europe, we may perceive one plain source of scarcity of people. In ancient times, things were on a different footing. Men were either able to support themselves, or if they fell into poverty, became most commonly the property of rich men; and the masters finding their account in the number of their slaves, for cultivating their lands, and for working in all kinds of trades, encouraged them to marry, and took good care of their children, who became their property and a valuable part of their riches.

We do not mean by this to assert, either that in the ancient world none of those who were free, were in straitened circumstances, or that all the slaves were married, or were well taken care of. Nothing less. The contrary, alas! is too evident from ancient history. But we may presume, that as the substance of the world was in the hands of such as were free, there was a smaller number in proportion so poor, as not to be able to maintain families; and that the numerous crowds of slaves being the property of their masters, and useful to them by their labour, they were in general tolerably well taken care of, at least till they were old and useless. Further, as the marriages of their slaves must have been often for the advantage of the masters; in such cases they would commonly be encouraged to marry,

and their children would be taken care of, and trained up to labour, not to begging.

This state of slavery is very remote from modern manners, indeed appears to be extremely wretched. Undoubtedly the ancient slaves were often exposed to great severity, cruelty, and injustice. Such a constitution would require particular, and these very strict laws, to prevent the barbarous treatment of this order of men. However, on an accurate examination, we shall perhaps find, that their life was not so miserable as we might be apt to imagine on our first thoughts upon it. In some states, particularly at Athens, equitable laws were enacted for their security; they were treated with gentleness and mildness, and allowed to acquire riches, on paying a small yearly tribute to their masters; nay, if they could scrape together as much as could purchase their liberty, their masters were obliged to set them free. Upon the whole, they seem to have been more certain of subsistence, and to have been better fed, not only than the beggars, but even than many of the day-labourers, and lower orders of the farmers and tradesmen of modern times. It would be chiefly where slaves were treated with equity and mildness, lived in friendship with their masters, were looked on as a part of the family, and interested in its welfare, that this institution could best serve to render nations populous. If they were cruelly used, and their spirits were

broken with severe bondage, they must have been less fit either for labour or for propagation.

After all, it is not easy, if it be not altogether impossible, for a man of humanity, to reconcile himself perfectly to the institution of domestic slavery. With whatever particular advantages it may be accompanied, one can scarce ever think of it without sensible horror and deep compassion. Like too many of the barbarous and inhuman customs of the world, it is highly disgraceful to human nature; nor can it ever produce any advantages, which might not be gained by a better and more humane policy. God forbid that I should ever be an advocate for slavery, ecclesiastic, civil, or domestic, on account of any accidental advantages which it may happen to produce; yet it must be confessed, that considering the institution only with respect to the phenomenon we are at present examining, it seems probable, that the ancient condition of servants contributed something to the greater populousness of antiquity, and that the ancient slaves were more serviceable in raising up people, than the inferior ranks of men in modern times.

What we have observed on this subject, is confirmed by the accounts historians give of the prodigious number of slaves in ancient times. From Athenæus we have conjectured, that in Athens, where agriculture and the mechanic arts, as well as navigation and the art of war were honoured, they were thrice as many as the free ci-

tizens : and we may reasonably believe, they were more numerous in other states, where the free citizens neglecting agriculture and mechanic arts, left these to their slaves, employing themselves wholly in the management of public affairs, or in war, as was the custom in Lacedæmon. Accordingly we find that the Lacedæmonians had a prodigious number of slaves. Nicias, the Athenian, who commanded during a part of the Peloponnesian war, had alone more than a thousand. Xenophon, in his treatise of revenue, relates, that he hired a thousand, each at an obolus clear a-day, to Sosian the Thracian, undertaker for working the silver mines at Laurinus.* Herodotus relates, † that at the battle of Platea, there were 5000 Lacedæmonians, each of whom had seven slaves to attend him. Florus ‡ observes, that the vast number of families produced the servile wars of the Romans. But it is needless to be more particular ; almost every page of ancient history demonstrates the great multitude of slaves ; which gives occasion to a melancholy reflection, that the world, when best peopled, was not a world of free men, but of slaves.

Thirdly. The rules of succession, and the right of primogeniture, by which the eldest son, not only of the most opulent, but even of the middling and the inferior families, carries off the

* Smith's Thucydides, III. p. 259.

† Lib. 9. p. 587, 597.

‡ III. 12.

greatest part of the father's estate, that the family may be supported in grandeur and in affluence, while the younger children get but a small patrimony, may justly be accounted another cause of the scarcity of people in modern times. This was unknown in ancient times ; both Greeks and Romans divided the father's estate more equally among all the children ; nor did the ancient world in general, as far as I have been able to learn, give so great a proportion to the eldest son. This custom no doubt may be accompanied with advantages, if it be confined to a few great families, who by their grandeur and their riches may be greatly serviceable to their country. In a monarchy it seems to be absolutely necessary ; nay, in every such government the most dreadful despotism seems unavoidable, where there is not a splendid nobility or gentry. But if it becomes so extensive, as to produce a general inclination to raise and support families by such an unequal division of the father's estate, it will prove a source of idleness to the eldest, and prevent the other sons from marrying, as, being born of the same parents, and educated in the same manner, they will naturally incline to live somewhat on a level with their elder brother ; which they will seldom find possible, unless they keep themselves free from the embarrassments of a family. At Venice the custom is said to go so far, that often only one of the sons marries. This must surely have a bad effect in modern times,

and make a sensible difference between the modern and the ancient world, in which, the estate being more equally divided among the children, all of them had greater encouragement to marry, and were more able to maintain families.

If we join these two customs together, by which the younger sons are so often discouraged from marrying, and the eldest keeps many unmarried servants; these two must cause a sensible difference between ancient and modern times.

Fourthly. Add that there is now less care taken to encourage marriage. The ancients conferred privileges and honours on such as were married. In Greece, not to marry was reckoned a crime; nor could marriage in some cases be delayed beyond a certain age; nay, it was even allowed to treat bachelors with contempt. By the laws of Lycurgus, those who continued unmarried, were held to be infamous; they were excluded from certain processions, and compelled to march naked round the market-place in the depth of winter, singing a song to their own disgrace; the younger sort were dispensed from paying them that reverence which they were otherwise obliged to pay to their elders. Hence the treatment which Dercyllidas, a man of considerable rank, met with from one of their youth, who, instead of rising, and making room for him when he came into a public assembly, told him, "You must not expect that honour from me, when I am young,

which cannot be returned to me by a child of yours, when I shall be old." * The ancient customs of Rome greatly favoured marriage. In modern times, there is a wide difference; the laugh is often against matrimony; married persons have no privileges; and a prevailing luxury often makes it be thought imprudent to marry at the most proper season of life: men must first purchase such an estate, and be able to live in such a manner, as they cannot often afford to do till they are grown old. In ancient times there was a greater simplicity of taste. I do not know if bachelors are incapable of offices at present any where but in Switzerland. † It is perhaps only in that country, where marriage is encouraged by the state: it is only among the Swiss Cantons, and in Holland, where estates are so equally divided among the children, and these two countries are the best peopled in Europe.

Fifthly. Another cause of the want of people, is the great number of soldiers in modern armies, among whom few marry, but by whose means so many women are debauched, and venereal distempers spread so wide and so fatally. This is an unhappy policy on many accounts, adapted in particular to increase idleness, and to lessen the

* Plutarch in the Life of Lycurgus.

† See an Account of Switzerland published at London 1714, chap. 4. p. 92.

number of the people, and is entirely different from the policy of the most ancient ages.

Sixthly. The extensive trade carried on between Europe, and the most remote corners of both the eastern and the western world, seems to be another cause of the scarcity of people in Europe.

Ancient commerce, even when most extensive, whether carried on by the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, or any other ancient nation, was much more confined than trade in modern times, since America was discovered by Columbus, and Vasco de Gama sailed to the East Indies round the Cape of Good Hope. By these two discoveries trade has indeed been greatly extended, but at the same time a great number of Europeans have been excited to desert their native land, and to settle in distant countries, and many have been lost by long voyages and trafficking in unwholesome climates. Such an extensive trade may enrich some particular cities or nations ; yet it must help to drain Europe in general, and must prevent the increase of inhabitants, in countries which have abundance of territory at home. Nations in this happy situation would often be more populous, by cultivating their lands, and by trading with less distant regions, where the climate and the air more nearly resemble their own, and were more adapted to their particular constitutions. Indeed one can scarcely regard it but as a secret fascination, that so many Europeans go

in quest of distant seats in America, while the lands in Europe are so poorly cultivated, and with a proper policy might plentifully maintain a much greater number of people.

Antient policy was of a very different kind, and seems to have been far preferable. The ancients did not neglect trade, but had a greater turn to agriculture; they traded to nations which were not at a great distance, and whose climate better suited their constitutions; but agriculture was their chief employment, and they managed it well.

In this respect therefore the ancients had much the advantage; among them fewer hands were employed in trade; trade was more confined; agriculture was more encouraged, and was indeed their principal occupation.

Seventhly. A taste for this peaceful and rural life, which prevailed so much in ancient times, must be numbered among the causes of the great populousness of the ancient world, and the decay of this taste among the moderns helps to account for the present scarcity of people.

It is needless to inquire minutely in what manner the ancients cultivated their lands, and who were employed for this purpose:* thus much is

* In the more ancient and simple times, it is probable every man cultivated his little field with the assistance of his own family. In after times, those who had acquired large possessions, sometimes sent slaves to till their lands, the charge of whom they committed to overseers; at other times they let out their lands to Colonies,

certain, that many of them made use of slaves, while they themselves had the chief oversight. Agriculture was of old in great honour; the plough was in the hand of the proprietor, who himself took the chief direction of the tillage of his farm. Hence the lands were wonderfully improved. Among the moderns it is quite otherwise. Rustic labour is in little honour; and as people of rank often despise it, the methods of culture are left to be invented and brought to perfection by the mean and the ignorant, and the expences lie on the poor labourer. In this situation neither are the best methods found out, nor are the labourers able to pursue them. This must occasion barrenness of lands, and greatly hinder the increase of the people.

How much agriculture was in esteem in the happiest times of the Greek and the Roman republics, is evident from their history. It was reckoned the most innocent, most useful, most

an order of men much resembling our farmers, who paid a certain rent. Columella determines when it is best to labour ground by slaves, when to let it to Coloni, and gives it as his opinion, that for the most part, even though an overseer might be careless, greater profits were to be made when lands were cultivated by slaves than when they were let to Coloni. "Cæterùm, cum mediocris adest et salubritas, et terræ bonitas, nunquam non ex agro plus sua cuique cura reddidit, quam Coloni; nunquam non etiam Villici, nisi si maxima vel negligentia servi, vel rapacitas intervenit." On which account it is probable the method of cultivating by slaves was more commonly in use.

. *Columella de re rust. lib. 1, cap. 7,*

pleasant, and most honourable employment. The greatest men took delight in it. Those who commanded victorious armies, who shone in the most august assemblies, and who had the chief direction of public affairs, not only amused themselves with agriculture, but studied it, and often employed much of their time in it. In this way they supported their families in a simple and frugal manner; in this way they promoted the interest of their country. Sometimes these ancient husbandmen have been suddenly called from the plough, and from the tillage of their little farms, to the command of armies and the defence of their country; and having vanquished their enemies, and delivered the state from the danger which threatened it, they have been crowned with laurel, and then returned with pleasure to their rural employments.

In ancient times, the sacred plough employ'd
The kings, and awful fathers of mankind :
And some, with whom compared, your insect-tribes
Are but the beings of a summer's day,
Have held the scale of empire, ruled the storm
Of mighty war; then, with victorious hand,
Disdaining little delicacies, seized
The plough, and, greatly independent, scorn'd
All the vile stores corruption can bestow.*

This simplicity of taste continued long among the Romans, and was only destroyed by the ruin

* Thomson's Spring.

of their commonwealth, and by that universal corruption of manners which was both the cause and the effect of it.

This is evident from Columella, whose useful work *De re Rustica*, shews how much a man, who lived in corrupted times, laments the loss of the ancient taste, and praises the manners of the old Romans. *

* “Sola res rustica, quæ sine dubitatione proxima, et quasi consanguinea sapientiæ est, tam discentibus egeat, quam magistris. Adhuc enim scholas rhetorum, et, ut dixi, geometrarum musicorumque, vel quod magis mirandum est, contemptissimorum vitiorum officinas gulosius condiendi cibos, et luxuriosius fercula struendi, capitumque et capillorum concinnatores non solum esse audi, sed et ipse vidi. Agricolationis neque doctores qui se profiterentur, neque discipulos cognovi.—Quo magis prodigii simile est,—ut—sperneretur genus amplificandi retinendique patrimonii, quod omni crimine caret.”

Then he compares and prefers agriculture to the profession of a soldier or lawyer, to traffic and navigation, to putting out money to interest, and attendance on great men; and concludes,

“Superest, ut dixi, unum genus liberale et ingenuum rei familiaris augendæ, quod ex agricolatione contingit. Cujus præcepta si vel temere ab indoctis, dum tamen agrorum possessoribus antiquo more administrarentur, minus jacturæ paterentur res rusticæ, nam industria dominorum cum ignorantie detrimentis multa pensaret.—Nunc et ipsi prædia nostra colere dedignamur, et nullius momenti ducimus peritissimum quemque villicum facere.—Quæ cum animadvertam, sæpe mecum retractans ac recogitans, quam turpi consensu deserta exoluerit disciplina ruris, vereor, ne flagitiosa, et quodammodo pudenda aut inhonesta videatur ingenuis. Verum cum plurimis monumentis scriptorum admonear apud antiquos nostros fuisse gloriæ curam rusticationis (ex qua Quintius Cincinnatus obsessi consulis et exercitus liberator, ab aratro vocatus ad dictaturam venerit, ac rursus fascibus depositis, quos festi-

These manners and this taste for agriculture continued among the Romans till the days of Cato the censor, who endeavoured strenuously to pre-

natus victor reddiderat, quam sumpserat Imperator, ad eosdem juvencos, et quatuor jugerum avitum hærediolum redierit. Itemque C. Fabricius et Curius Dentatus, alter Pyrrho finibus Italiæ pulso, domitis alter Sabinis, accepta quæ viritim dividebantur captivi agri, septem jugera, non minus industrie coluerit, quam fortiter armis quæsierat. Et ne singulos intempestive nunc persequar, cum tot alios Romani generis intuear memorabiles duces, hoc semper duplici studio floruisse, vel defendendi, vel colendi patrios, quæsitosve fines), intelligo luxuriæ, et deliciis nostris pristinum morem virilemque vitam displicuisse. Omnes enim (sicut M. Varro jam temporibus avorum conquestus est) patres familiæ falce, et aratro relictis, intra murum correpsimus, et in circis potius ac theatris, quam in segetibus et vinetis manus movemus: attonitique miramur gestus effæminatorum, quod à natura sexum viris denegatum, muliebri motu mentiantur, discipiantque oculos spectantium. Mox deinde ut apti veniamus ad ganeas, quotidianam cruditatem Laconicis excoquimus, et exucto sudore sitim quærimus, noctesque libidinibus, et ebrietatibus, dies ludo vel somno consumimus, ac nosmetipsos ducimus fortunatos, quod nec orientem solem videmus nec occidentem: itaque istam vitam socordem persequitur valetudo. Nam sic juvenum corpora fluxa et resoluta sunt, ut nihil mors mutatura videatur. At mehercule vera illa Romuli proles assiduis venatibus, nec minus agrestibus operibus exercitata, firmissimis prævaluit corporibus, ac militiam belli, cum res postulavit, facile sustinuit, durata pacis laboribus, semperque rusticam plebem præposuit urbanæ.—Nundinarum etiam conventus manifestum est propterea usurpatos, ut nonis tantummodo diebus urbanæ res agerentur, reliquis administrarentur rusticæ: illis enim temporibus, ut ante jam diximus, procures civitatis in agris morabantur, et cum consilium publicum desiderabatur, à villis arcessebantur in senatum. Ex quo qui eos evocabant, viatores nominati sunt: isque mos dum servatus est perseverantissimo colendorum agrorum studio, veteres illi Sabini, Quirites, attavique

serve the remains of the old simplicity and frugality, and to stop the growing corruption of his

Romani, quanquam inter ferrum, et ignes hosticisque incursionibus vestatæ fruges, largius tamen condidere, quam nos, quibus diuturna permittente pace prolatare licuit rem rusticam. Itaque in hoc Latio et Saturnia terra, ubi Dii cultus agrorum progeniem suam docuerunt, ibi nunc ad hastam locamus, ut nobis ex transmarinis provinciis advehatur frumentum, ne fame laboremus: et vindemias condimus ex insulis Cycladibus, ac regionibus Bæticis, Gallicisque. Nec mirum cum sit publice concepta, et confirmata jam vulgaris existimatio, rem rusticam sordidum opus, et id esse negotium, quod nullius egeat magisterio præceptoris."

And then he proceeds to shew what a variety of knowledge is necessary to make one perfectly skilled in agriculture.

Colum. de re Rustic. præf.

This passage from Columella gives a distinct view of the taste of the Romans both in more early and in later times.

To the same purpose are the two following passages:

"Nam is demum cultissimum rus habebit, ut ait Tremellius, qui et colere sciet, et poterit, et volet: neque enim scire aut velle, cuiquam satisfuerit sine sumptibus, quos exigant opera."

Columell. de re Rust. lib. 1. cap. 1.

"Nec dubium quin minus reddat laxus ager non recte cultus, quam angustus eximie. Ideoque post reges exactos, Liciniana illa septena jugera, quæ plebis tribunus viritim deviserat, majores quæstus antiquis retulere, quam nunc nobis præbent amplissima vervacta. Tanta quidem Curius Dentatus, quem paulo ante retulimus, prospero ductu parta victoria ob eximiam virtutem deferente populo præmii nomine quinquaginta soli jugera, supra consularem, triumphalemque fortunam putavit esse. Repudiatoque publico munere, populari ac plebeia mensura contentus fuit.—More præpotentium qui possident fines gentium, quos ne circumire equis quidem valent, sed proculcandos pecudibus, et vastandos, ac populandos feris derelinquunt."

Columell. de re Rust. lib. 1. cap. 3.

age. Agriculture was his constant business, when not employed either in pleading causes, or in the public service; and though he was so great a man in the Roman state, he found time to compose a treatise on this subject, part of which has been preserved to our times.*

The Greeks were both polished and corrupted in more early times than the Romans; and notwithstanding the greatest refinement, agriculture was highly honoured in many of their states.

How much it was honoured at Athens in the days of Socrates, appears from Xenophon's book of *Œconomics*,† where in the person of Ischomachus, whom he introduces in conversation with Socrates, he sets before us the manner in which

* In this little treatise, at the beginning, we have the following passage :

“ *Majores nostri—virum bonum cum laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum agricolam, bonumque colonum. Amplissime laudari existimabatur, qui ita laudabatur. Mercatorem autem strenuum studiosumque rei quærendæ existimo, verum (ut supra dixi) periculosum & calamitosum. At ex agricolis & viri fortissimi & milites strenuissimi gignuntur, maximeque pius quæstus, stabilissimusque consequitur, minimeque invidiosus: minimeque male cogitantes sunt, qui in eo studio occupati sunt.*

† *Τις δὲ οἰκεταῖς προσφιλεστέρα, ἢ γυναικὶ ἡδίων, ἢ τέκνοις ποθεινοτέρα, ἢ φίλοις εὐχαριστοτέρα; ἐμοὶ μὲν θάυμασόν δοκεῖ εἶναι εἴ τις ἐλεύθερος ἄνθρωπος ἢ κτημᾶ τι τέττα ἡδίων κέκτηται, ἢ ἐπιμέλειαν ἡδίω τινὰ ταύτης εὐρηκεν ἢ ὠφελιμωτέραν εἰς τὸν βίον. Xenophon. Oeconom.*

Καλῶς δὲ καὶ κεῖνος εἶπεν ὃς ἔφη τὴν γεωργίαν τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν μητέρα καὶ τροφὸν εἶναι. εὖ μὲν γὰρ φερομένης τῆς γεωργίας, ἔρῃωνται καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἅπασαι· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἀναγκασθῇ ἢ γῇ χερσεύειν, ἀποσθενύνται καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι χεδόν τι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Ibidem.

many of the Athenians lived, and how studious they were of agriculture.

Nor was it among the Greeks and the Romans alone that agriculture was so highly esteemed; it was also highly valued among other wise and mighty nations. Xenophon relates in the same book what passed between the younger Cyrus and Lysander, and how much Cyrus valued himself on his knowledge and his practice in agriculture. I myself (says Cyrus to Lysander) designed and measured out the whole garden; (meaning a fine garden at Sardis;) many of the plants I planted with my own hands; and when I am in health, I never dine till I have first made myself sweat at some warlike or rural exercise. Ταῦτα δὲ, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἐγὼ διηγοῦμαι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅτι τῆς γεωργίας οὐδ' οἱ πάντῃ μακάριοι δυνάμνται ἀπέχουσθαι. “ These things I mention to you, O Critobulus, said Socrates, because the most fortunate and most happy of men cannot hinder themselves from having the highest inclination to rural business; *

* Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ὦ Λύσανδρε, ἐγὼ πάντα καὶ διεμέτρησα καὶ διέταξα· ἔστι δ' αὐτῶν, φάναι, ἅ καὶ ἐφύτευσα αὐτός.—

Ὅμνυμι σοι τὸν μῖθον, ὅταν περ' ἡγαίνω, μὴ πώποτε δειπνῆσαι πρὶν ἐδρῶσαι ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν τι ἢ τῶν γεωργικῶν ἐργῶν μελετῶν, ἢ αἰεὶ ἐν γέ τι φιλοτιμούμενος. Xenophon. Oeconomic.

When I compare the manners and the tempers of the British at this time with those of the Romans described by Columella, I am sorry that they resemble one another in so many particulars. Columella complains that there were schools, and teachers, and scholars, not only for the nobler arts of rhetoric, of geometry, and of music, but for what he reckons most contemptible, the most

Eighthly. We may further derive the scarcity of people in modern times, from the extent of many of the modern, compared with that of the ancient states.

Before the days of Alexander the Great, and even in succeeding times, till the Roman empire was established, the western parts of the world consisted of small and independent governments. Cæsar describes many such in Gaul. Italy, Greece, the lesser Asia, the African coast, and almost all the islands in the Mediterranean and Ægean seas, consisted of independent states of this kind, containing commonly one city, and around it a small territory, that was well improved; for lands which lie near considerable cities, may generally be observed to be richly cultivated. The extent of most of the governments of Europe is much larger in modern times. This continent was anci-

luxurious cookery, and delicacy of dress, but none for teaching or learning the best methods of agriculture. He laments the neglect and the contempt into which this most useful of all arts had fallen among the great, contrary to the taste of the old Romans; that all ranks of people crowded into the city, living in idleness and debauchery, spending their time in gaming, sleeping, and frequenting the theatres and the spectacles. That by such methods of living, their lands were suffered to become waste, and they were obliged to bring their corn from beyond seas.

Whoever knows the method of living among too many in our metropolis and other large cities, will observe a striking resemblance in many respects; however, in some things we have the advantage; in particular, that agriculture is much more carefully studied than formerly, and that there is a prevailing humour of improving our lands.

ently divided into many hundreds, perhaps some thousands, of independent governments: there are not perhaps fifty at present. In consequence, a small spot near the metropolis, or any considerable city, is finely cultivated, while places at a distance lie neglected. From hence it evidently appears, that states of small extent must in a peculiar manner be favourable to populousness, as the territory of such states, extending but a small way round the metropolis, cannot fail to be cultivated to the full.

Mr Fletcher,* while he indulged his taste of inquiring into all kinds of political institutions; among those other speculations, with which he amused himself, proposed a scheme according to which Britain might have been divided into ten or twelve independent states of this kind. Such a disposition of things might have its advantages; and in particular, as we have said, would probably produce great numbers of people. However, the frequent wars, contests, and divisions among the states of Greece, of Italy, of Gaul, and of Spain, which made them at length a prey to the Romans; the struggles for power and dominion, with which Great Britain was molested during the Saxon heptarchy; the many bloody battles between the English and the Scots, before the union of the crowns and the kingdoms, which not only destroyed great numbers of the people, but likewise produced an hatred between the na-

* P. 312, &c.

tions, may convince every impartial observer, that it would be not a little rash to endanger the liberty, the peace, and the tranquillity we at present enjoy, for any advantages which might result from such an imaginary constitution. I would not, therefore, that what is said above were construed, as if I intended to hint, it were better Great Britain should be crumbled down into so many small states. I mean nothing less, and think it would be madness to exchange the present happy constitution of this country for the most perfect ideal one which imagination could delineate. All I pretend is, that small states have a tendency to produce great numbers of people; and that the populousness of ancient times, before the huge monarchies arose, was owing in some degree to the smallness of the ancient governments.

Ninthly. This points out another source of the destruction of Europe, closely connected with the cause just now given of the phenomenon into which we are inquiring; for the scarcity of people in latter times seems to be not a little owing to the ruin of the ancient governments by the Roman empire, and the havock which the Romans made among the smaller states and cities, before they could fully establish their sovereign power.

If we may indulge conjectures about the increase of mankind in the more early ages, it is not improbable, that the most ancient inhabitants

of the world, peopling the earth by degrees, seized on those tracts first which were most fertile and most inviting. It was thus they formed small societies, and built cities, according to their different views and fancies. These cities grew by degrees, mankind multiplied, and the earth might have been well stored with inhabitants much sooner than is generally supposed; but these states would be formed, and these cities built at first, where mankind had their first abodes.

Now, according to the traditions of most nations, mankind made their first appearance in the East; and according to sacred history, a single pair, formed by the creating hand of God, was placed in Eden, to be the parents of the human race. Thus the whole country around the primeval seat of man would be first peopled. After the deluge, the posterity of Noah, growing daily more and more numerous, would by degrees remove themselves from their original abode, which appears also to have been in the East; and would spread themselves over the rest of the adjacent countries; and it might be long ere they would choose to desert the fertile plains of Asia, and go in quest of unknown, uncultivated, and perhaps barren habitations. But their growing numbers would at last reduce them to this necessity. Some of them would then transport themselves into Europe, others go towards Africa, and lay a foundation for peopling the west. So that Europe and Africa, according to this ac-

count, must only have been peopled some time after the peopling of the East. Hence, whatever progressions in government, and whatever changes in the situation of human affairs, are, from the nature of man, and from the gradual course of things, most likely to have happened, and to have succeeded each other gradually, must from this account be supposed to have happened first in the East. Thus mankind would there first form themselves into those small societies or states I spoke of. And even before Europe and the western parts were fully peopled, while they were as yet only dividing themselves into states of the same kind, some ambitious and turbulent nation of Asia might have already raised its views, aimed at general empire, and perhaps accomplished its designs. This is exactly agreeable to the accounts of historians, who every where talk of great empires that were established in the East in the most early times. And from hence it is probable, that the great Assyrian, Babylonian, Median, and Persian empires, had swallowed up, and been first formed on the ruins of the small states of Asia; that afterward each of them was erected on the ruins of the preceding; and that not only Europe, but also Asia, was best peopled before the establishment of great monarchies.

But in those times, when monarchs domineered in the East, we read only of small states in Europe; for these states had had but just time to form themselves, and none had arisen to aspire

at universal dominion. However, in a few years, the fate of this part became the same with that of the eastern part of the world. Rome arose, and by the havock and the destruction of the other states, obtained the empire of the west.

From this account of the gradual peopling of the world, and its formation into small states, it appears probable, that there was a point of time, when at least Europe was better peopled than it has ever been since, or shall ever be hereafter, unless some mighty revolution shall produce unforeseen changes; to wit, when it was most replenished with small states, and these states had had sufficient time to improve their lands: for history assures us, that the greatest part of Europe did once actually consist of such small states.*

It cannot indeed be determined with precision, in what age this point of time should be placed: in such matters there must be a latitude: one

* The wars and the struggles for power and dominion, which might happen to arise between them, would perhaps be neither so frequent, nor so dangerous in the most early times, and of course could not prevent the increase of mankind so much as, on our first thinking of it, we may be ready to suppose; for while great tracts of the earth remained unoccupied, and it was easy to find convenient habitations without fighting, as most men naturally love ease, and would rather purchase what they want without than with danger, it is probable that wars would be more destructive some time after the world was well replenished with inhabitants, and there was less empty room for new-comers, than in a more early age.

country flourishes, while another decays, and countries by turns either increase or are diminished. Thus much seems certain, that we ought not to place such a point of time in the most early ages, as before the siege of Troy, but rather in a posterior age, when cities and states had got time to cultivate their lands, and improve their whole territory.

Now, by the common chronology, there passed from the siege of Troy to the building of Rome, about 430 years, and near as many from the building of Rome to the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great: during some part of this period, it seems probable, that many of the countries of Europe and of Asia were better peopled than afterwards, and, in general, were increasing in people. How long this might have continued, supposing no universal monarchy to have been established, cannot be determined: it seems evident, that, after the building of the ambitious and turbulent city of Rome, a stop was put to the increase of many of the states of Italy, by the continual wars and destruction caused by that haughty and usurping republic;* and that from the beginning of the first Punic war, which

* Though the former wars of the smaller independent states of Greece, and other ancient nations, could not but prevent such a speedy increase of mankind, as would otherwise have happened in consequence of ancient manners; yet these wars were but skirmishes, and the effect of them inconsiderable, in comparison of the more dreadful devastation by the Romans.

happened only about sixty years after the death of Alexander, many countries in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, began to decay by the continual inroads of the Romans, who plundered their provinces, razed their cities, and put to death so many thousands, nay millions of people : nor could ever these nations recover their ancient vigour, their spirits being broken, and their most generous efforts prevented or defeated by Roman oppression. Thus instead of growing more populous, the world declined under the Roman yoke, till by the inroads and the conquests of the Goths, and other barbarous and uncivilized nations, ignorant of industry and of agriculture, it was still more miserably distressed. And, by an almost total ruin of ancient manners and customs, and by the introduction of others not so well calculated for the increase and the improvement of society, the necessary consequence of these inroads, the western parts of the world, which had been well cultivated in ancient times, were greatly reduced, and have never been able to regain their ancient strength and splendour.

It will not be necessary to illustrate at great length the oppression by the Romans, and the dreadful havock they made in every country which they invaded. This is evident from the whole of their history. We need only produce two examples, and take notice of the ruin they brought on the Samnites and their allies within

Italy, and of the manner in which they abused the Epirots, for their joining with Perseus king of Macedon; dreadful scenes of their history: but, besides their cruelty in these two examples, in many other cases they exercised their power with great severity.

During the war with the Samnites, they not only killed very great armies in the field, but even put the inhabitants of whole cities to the sword. Thus they treated Ausona, Minturnæ, Vescia, and Luceria, destroying, as Livy expresses it, the whole nation of the Ausones, * though they were only suspected to favour the Samnites. They almost extirpated the nation of the Æqui, overrun and laid waste their whole country, and took forty-one of their cities, most of which they razed and burnt. † After this, two consular armies ravaged, and entirely depopulated the whole country of Samnium, wasting it for five months. During this time one of the consuls moved his camp forty-five, the other eighty-six times, leaving every where signal monuments of ruin and

* “Tria oppida (Ausona, Minturnæ et Vescia) eadem hora, eodemque concilio capta. Sed, quia absentibus ducibus impetus est factus, nullus modus cædibus fuit; deletaque Ausonum gens, vix certo defectionis crimine, perinde ac si internecivo bello certasset,—Lucerini ac Samnites ad internecionem cæsi.”

Liv. lib. 9. cap. 25. 26.

† — “Ad singulas urbes circumferendo bello unum et quadraginta oppida intra dies quinquaginta omnia oppugnando ceperrunt; quorum pleraque diruta atque incensa, nomenque Æquorum prope ad internecionem deletum.”

Liv. lib. 9. cap. 45.

of destruction; * and, continuing their devastations, they at length forced the army of the Samnites to fly to Etruria: upon which they immediately attacked their cities, and in a few months plundered Murgantia, in which they took 2100 Samnites; Romulea, in which they killed 2300, and took 6000 prisoners; Ferentinum, in which they killed 3000; and during the course of this war, they made themselves masters of Milonia, killing 3200, and taking 4200 prisoners; Amiternum, killing almost 2800, and making 4270 prisoners; Duronia, much of the same strength; Cominium, where 4380 were killed, and 15,400 surrendered themselves prisoners. This city and Aquilonia they plundered and burnt in one day. They took likewise Volana, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum, in which three cities 10,000 were killed, or made prisoners; as also Sæpinum, where they killed 7400, and took 3000 prisoners. In short, during their war with the Samnites, which lasted about half a century, the Roman generals triumphed twenty-four times, and so entirely subdued the country of Samnium, and destroyed the very ruins of its cities, that, according to Florus, † *Samnium in ipso Samnio requiratur; nec facile appareat materia quatuor et viginti triumphorum.*

As an example of what they did without the bounds of Italy, we need only reflect on their

* *Livy*, lib. 10. cap. 15. 17. 34. 39. 43. 44. 45.

† *Lib.* 1. cap. 16.

cruel order to Paulus Æmilius, to plunder and destroy the cities of Epirus: in obedience to which, he seized whatever was most valuable, and reserving it for the public treasury at Rome, gave all that remained as plunder to his army; besides, he made 150,000 persons slaves, and dismantled seventy cities.* Thus the exorbitant power and over-grown empire of the Romans, as well as the means employed to raise both to so prodigious an height, contributed greatly to the ruin of the world. Indeed this must always be the consequence of too extensive governments.

Tenthly. We may view in another light the mighty change wrought on the world by the conquests of Alexander the Great, and his successors, and afterwards by the Roman empire; as such overgrown governments destroyed simplicity of taste and manners, and introduced a degree of luxury unknown to more ancient ages, which helped gradually and insensibly to diminish the number of mankind.

If we consider the state of the ancient world, while governments were small, before so many arts, merely ornamental, had been invented; mankind, we shall find from the accounts of historians, lived in a simple and frugal manner, and were employed chiefly in agriculture, and the necessary arts of life; equality obtained in a great measure; and even when the fortunes of

* *Liv.* lib. 45. cap. 34, et Plutarch. in Paul. Emil.

particular persons happened to be unequal, simplicity in general prevailed among both high and low. There was little grandeur, sumptuousness, or operose workmanship in their equipages, their clothes, or their tables, in respect of that which was introduced under the great monarchies. This frugal and simple manner of living continued long; it was not banished at once, but decayed gradually, as luxury and a false taste prevailed. During the period of 800 years, from the siege of Troy to the conquests of Alexander the Great, even after the finer arts of painting, of sculpture, and of architecture, had attained the greatest perfection, much of the antient simplicity and sobriety remained in other respects, and was chiefly destroyed by that corruption of taste which was introduced by the greater monarchies. Till these arose, the changes of manners were much slower; but so soon as such mighty empires were raised, false refinements, and extravagant sumptuousness, suddenly overran the world; and beginning at courts and in palaces, made rich by oppression, they spread by degrees to places more distant, till at length, the infection growing universal, a taste for all kinds of expensive ornaments increasing continually, and the great people requiring so much attendance, a far greater number in proportion applied themselves to arts merely ornamental, fewer to agriculture and necessary occupations. In consequence great tracts of land being left uncultivated every where; food,

and all the necessaries of life, became scarce and dear. This again prevented marriage, as many would not choose to subject themselves to the incumbrance of a family, but would rather plunge into debauchery and irregular amours. Besides, the greater monarchies raising high taxes, and oppressing the more distant parts under their jurisdiction, multitudes would leave those distant provinces, and take up their residence near the centre of the government: their not being married, would make this more easy. The magnificence and splendour, shows and diversions, licentiousness and debaucheries of the courts of princes, would allure vast numbers. By all these methods, the world daily declined in temperance, in frugality, and even in virtue, and of course the people were continually diminished, though after a manner so slow as was hardly to be perceived during one life. Nor indeed has the world ever recovered the ancient taste of frugality and simplicity, but is either barbarous, and in a great measure destitute of arts and of agriculture, or corrupted by luxury and by false refinements.

The natural progression from simplicity to refinement, and from that to luxury, would take place in small states, as well as in extensive monarchies; but in the latter, the successive changes would follow each other more quickly, at the same time that luxury would be carried to a greater height than in the former. Thus in the false refinements and extravagancies of overgrown mo-

narchies, we may see one considerable cause of the ruin of the world.

All this may be illustrated by what we find recorded in history concerning the smallness of estates among the Romans, even in the later times of their commonwealth. When Rome was built, * a Roman family was decently maintained upon two jugera, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ English acres. Plutarch † relates, that when Appius Clausus left the Sabines, and retired to Rome, he brought along with him 5000 Sabine families, to each of which the Romans gave two plethra of ground, and twenty-five to Appius himself. If the plethrum was equal to the jugerum, as some think, ‡ each family had $1\frac{1}{4}$ English acres, and Appius about fifteen: but if the plethrum was only 10,000 feet square, it was not half a jugerum; for a jugerum contained 28,800 feet square: if, according to others, it was only 1444 feet square, it was much less. In the year of Rome 292, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus the dictator had only four jugera, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. § The famous Attilius Regulus, in the time of the first Carthaginian war, had only seven jugera, or

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 18. cap. 2.

† In the Life of Poplicola.

‡ See Arbuthnot's Tables of Ancient Coins, &c. chap. 8.

§ Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. cap. 7.

He had seven at first, but lost three of them by a fine, so four only remained; yet, according to Valerius Maximus, "Ei quatuor jugera aranti, non solum dighitas patris familiæ constitit, sed etiam dictatura delata est." This circumstance is likewise observed by Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* lib. 18. cap. 3.

4½ acres. * It is recorded, that Manius Curius Dentatus, who was consul about the year of Rome 463, said, he was a dangerous citizen, who was not contented with seven jugera. † This had been the quantity allotted to the Plebes, after the kings had been expelled; and if their consuls and dictators long afterwards had no greater quantity, doubtless this was reckoned a decent allowance. However, as the love of riches crept in, and increased gradually, many without doubt became avaricious, and possessed larger estates. This occasioned the law enacted under the tribuneship of Licinius Stolo, about the year of Rome 378, that none should possess above 500 jugera, or about 312 English acres. ‡ Now, when the Roman consuls and dictators had only so small a piece of ground, which they laboured with the help of their slaves, and often with their own hands; this shews in what a frugal and simple manner they must have lived; how few arts there must have been merely ornamental; and how easy it must have been then to support a family. Even in Juvenal's time, it seems to have been reckoned great extravagance to have seven dishes § at a private entertainment. In such a dictator's or consul's family, we may reckon the husband and the wife,

* Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 6.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 18. cap. 3.

‡ Ibid. See also Livy, book 6. chap. 35.

§ *Fercula* do not mean courses, which were expressed by the word *missus*. Sat. I. 94. XI, 64, &c.

two or three children, and a slave or two, perhaps more, as slaves were very numerous. A Roman family therefore, which had not above seven jugera, or $4\frac{1}{3}$ English acres, to maintain them, might consist of seven persons or more, and had less than an acre, often perhaps not more than half an acre for each in the family. But, according to Templeman's calculations, the eight millions of inhabitants of England have very near thirty-two millions of acres to support them, or four acres per head. The Roman territory therefore must have been four times as populous as England.* Nor can any state be said to be populous, where there are great tracts of land uncultivated, and where great estates go to the maintaining of a few, who, notwithstanding, through the luxury of the times, may stand in need of so many ornaments, that it is often with difficulty they can purchase the necessaries of life: whereas among the Romans the necessaries of life being all they wanted, a small piece of ground furnished a family with abundance. Hence their territory in general was more populous than England, in proportion to the smaller extent of ground, which was allotted for the support of the same number of persons.

Not only among the Romans, but also among the ancients in general, there was a great simplicity of taste and of manners; the great expence arose from food; the generality of the people wanted fewer ornaments, and could support them-

selves, and maintain families more easily, than the bulk of mankind at present: nor did this arise from scarcity of money, but from the abundance of provisions, and from the customs of the times, which made ornaments much less necessary.

Without descending into a tedious and particular discussion of the subject, I shall only take notice at present of some passages of authors, which shew, that in ancient times there was a great disproportion between the prices of necessities and those of things ornamental; that while the latter were very high, the former were very low; and that even in times of luxury, and great plenty of money, food and the common necessities of life might have been purchased at a very low rate.

In the more early times, during the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Median, and the Persian empires, there was great pomp in many of the countries in Asia, and silver and gold were more plentiful than in Europe.* The courts of the Asia-

* Herodotus is full of gold and silver, and of pillars, beds, tables, altars, statues, chairs, bridles, vases, and other things, or furniture made of them. Pythius of Cellæne told Xerxes, that in specie he was possessed of 2000 talents of silver and 3,993,000 pieces of gold stamped with the mark of Darius; all which was offered by him to that monarch, towards defraying the expences of the war. He entertained Xerxes and all his army with magnificence, and presented Darius with a plane and a vice both made of gold. *Herodot. 7.*

tic monarchs were very splendid. Softness, delicacy, and luxury, reigned in their capital cities. Thus the Persian emperors lived in mighty grandeur, and had great treasures of gold and of silver in their dominions. The magnificence with which Xerxes invaded Greece; the delicacy and sumptuous methods of living, which appeared among the governors, and many of the subjects of the Persian empire; the great sums expended on their numerous fleets and armies, and remitted to bribe and to divide the Grecian states; especially the vast riches, which fell into the hands of Alexander the Great, when he overthrew the Persian empire, demonstrate, how much money abounded in the East.

During this period, the Greeks, the Italians, and several other nations of Europe, did not want a good deal of money, though indeed it seems to have been scarcer than in Asia. Authors make early mention of very great sums; and while the most necessary provisions were very cheap, such things as were only ornamental gave a good price.

The taking of Troy by the Greeks was a very ancient event: even according to Sir Isaac Newton's chronology, which places it almost 300 years lower than the common account, it was more than 300 years before the reign of Cyrus; yet in this ancient age, as we may see from Homer, both silver and gold abounded, and many fine arts and manufactures had been introduced into Greece and the neighbouring countries; and

it is reasonable to presume they would be on the growing hand till the days of Alexander the Great. But through all this period, and long afterwards, a great deal of the ancient simplicity remained, and the common necessities of life might have been easily purchased.

Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, was Archon at Athens more than 250 years before the reign of Alexander ; yet there were many rich citizens in Athens in his time, to whom great sums of money were owing by the poorer sort. When he was called to settle the state, and had actually discharged the debts, he himself lost by it, according to some, five talents, or 968*l.* 15*s.* Sterling ; according to others, 15 talents, or 2906*l.* 5*s.* * I cannot find he was among the richest citizens. Plutarch seems rather to be of opinion, that his family was poor, and that his estate had been much lessened by his father. It is at least probable, that there were many richer citizens, and that many lost more than Solon at this time. Plutarch takes notice, that while Solon was devising schemes for discharging the debts of the Athenians, some of his intimate friends, knowing that he did not intend to make any alteration in the division of lands, borrowed great sums of money from rich men, with which they purchased some large farms : it seems, notwithstanding the debts already contracted, there was still much

* Plutarch. in Solon.

money to be lent. Now, such considerable debts shew the Athenians did not want money in those early ages; yet we shall find, that at this time the prices of cattle and of corn were very low.

According to Plutarch, the price of a sheep in Solon's time was a drachma, or seven pence three farthings Sterling, and the price of an ox five drachmæ, or three shillings and two pence three farthings.

He observes, that the poorer citizens tilled the lands of the rich, and paid them one sixth part of the produce. This would be reckoned in many cases a cheap rent among us, and shews how easily a poor man might live by cultivating land.

Corn at that time was valued at a drachma the medimnus, * which contained nearly an English bushel and an half; so the English quarter cost only three shillings and seven pence. †

When a woman went out of town, she was restricted in her provisions to the expence of an obolus, or one penny $1 \frac{1}{6}$ farthings Sterling.

Solon was obliged to restrain, by sumptuary

* See Plutarch in Solon.

† I calculate according to the Medimnus Georgicus, at which rate the Scotch peck would have cost about 1 penny $\frac{5}{6}$ Sterling, and the boll not more than half a crown, which shews the plenty of provisions, and how easily the lower sort of the people could maintain families.

N. B. In all the following computations, the Scotch measure is to be understood of the Linlithgow barley measure.

laws, many abuses and pieces of extravagance that had crept into the state; it was not therefore scarcity of money which occasioned the cheapness of provisions.

The age of Solon was illustrious in many respects. He was contemporary with Cræsus king of Lydia, a country at no great distance from Greece, whose court at Sardis was remarkably splendid, whose riches have even become a proverb, and who, notwithstanding his great conquests in Asia Minor, in which there were many Greek cities, studied to preserve the friendship of the Greeks in Europe, sent rich presents to their temple at Delphos,* and was much interested in the affairs of Greece. Now when riches abounded so much, and there were so many great and splendid Greek cities in Asia, can we imagine that Greece itself was poor?

From the Archonship of Solon to the battle of Marathon, there were about 100 years; from the battle of Marathon to that of Leuctra, about 116; and from thence to the reign of Alexander, 38. This was an illustrious period, in which arms arts, learning, and commerce, flourished in Greece and the neighbouring islands. Great sums of money are mentioned, and high prices are recorded by historians to have been given for things merely ornamental, while the prices of necessities appear to have been wonderfully low.

Plutarch † relates, that after the battle of Pla-

* Herod. lib. 1.

† In the life of Aristides.

tea, the Greeks, before they divided the spoils, set apart 80 talents, or 15,500*l.* Sterling, for building a temple, and erecting a statue to Minerva: the Plateans built the temple, and adorned it with pictures, which retained their original beauty in the age of Plutarch. This was a considerable sum, and shews, that the Greeks, in those early times, had an idea of magnificent and expensive works; yet observe at the same time, that when it was left to Aristides to tax the Grecian states, in order to maintain a constant war against the Persians, he taxed them only at the rate of 460 talents, or 89,125*l.* Sterling. With this inconsiderable sum, an army of 10,000 foot, 1000 horse, and 100 ships of war were to be supported. Now, supposing 100 in each ship, (and the ancient ships of war had often many more,) each man and horse will not have three pence for daily maintenance, though nothing be allowed for other necessary expences of such an army and navy. This shews how little was thought sufficient for purchasing the necessaries of life.

The same conjecture may be formed from the account which Plutarch* gives of the generosity of the Træzenians, who, by a public decree, ordered the parents, the wives, and the children of those Athenians, who had generously left their city, and betaken themselves to their ships, during the Median war, to be maintained at the

* Plutarch. in Themistocl.

public charge; for this purpose they distributed daily two oboli to each of them, or two pence $2\frac{1}{3}$ farthings Sterling.

More than 50 years after this, about the end of the Peloponnesian war, the seamen in the Grecian fleets had only three oboli, or less than fourpence a day. * The Lacedæmonians indeed gave four oboli, which is almost $5\frac{1}{4}$ pence. But this was not necessary; and the Lacedæmonians did it only to encourage them, as the money they received from Cyrus enabled them easily to bear the expence.

Plutarch † takes notice, that two women, very nearly related to Aristides, when they were poor, had but half a drachma, or about $3\frac{1}{2}$ pence, a day, allowed them out of the public treasury for their subsistence: indeed afterwards this allowance was doubled. At any rate, this was a small matter for persons of their rank, if necessaries had not been got almost for nothing.

Socrates says to Critobulus, ‡ that he believed, if he was to sell his house with all he had, and could make a good bargain, he might get five minæ for it, or 16*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* So poor was Socrates. He was indeed reckoned poor at that time; yet he says in the same passage, that he could supply himself plentifully with all the necessities of life. We may be apt perhaps to attribute this to the moderation of so great a man, and the

* Idem in Alcibiad. † In the life of Aristides.

‡ Xenophon Œconom.

willingness of his friends to assist him ; but we ought to consider at the same time, that such a representation had been improper, if both houses and living had not been very cheap at Athens.

If we consider the situation of the Roman affairs, we shall find, that during the same period, that is, from the days of Tarquin the elder, until a little after the death of Camillus, a small portion of ground was sufficient to maintain very good families, and that the prices of necessaries were very low ; nay, that long afterwards, when Italy had grown very rich, there was still a great disproportion between the prices of necessaries and those of ornaments ; and that there was such plenty of provisions, as gave great encouragement to marriage.

In the life of Valerius Poplicola, Plutarch gives account of the prices of sheep and of oxen. A sheep was valued at ten oboli, or very near thirteence sterling, and an ox at ten times the sum, or ten shillings and tenpence. Poplicola died about the time of the battle of Marathon. Hence it is probable, that provisions were much about the same price at that time, both in Italy and in Greece.

In the manners of the elder Cato, who was contemporary with Scipio Africanus, we may see the frugal laborious life of the more ancient Romans ; how little they stood in need of, and of course at how small an expence they might sup-

port families. Plutarch relates, * that even while he was general or consul, he never wore clothes which cost more than 100 drachmæ, or 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* sterling; and that the provisions for his table at dinner never cost more than 30 ἀσάρια, much about two shillings.

But notwithstanding the cheapness of living, and the low prices of what was necessary for the bulk of men, there was much money at this time, both in Greece and in Italy; for ornaments, delicacies, and curiosities, often gave a great price,

Alcibiades got with his wife a fortune of 20 talents, or 3875*l.* sterling; he had a favourite dog, which cost him 70 minæ, or 226*l.* sterling. †

Thucydides introduces Pericles acquainting the Athenians, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, that their allies contributed yearly 600 talents ‡ of taxes, or 116,250*l.*; that at that time there were 6000 talents of coined money in their castle, or 1,162,500*l.*; that there had been in it not long before 9700 talents, or 1,879,375*l.*; but that 4000 talents, or 775,000*l.* had been spent on the gates of their castle, § and on other buildings, together with what was spent on the expedition to Potidea; that the uncoined gold and silver of the public and private donations, and the sacred vessels for their processions and exer-

* In Cat. Censor.

† Plutarch. in Alcibiad.

‡ Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

Τὰ προπυλαία τῆς ἀκροπόλεως.

cises, the Median spoils, and other things of the same nature, could not be valued at less than 500 talents, or 96,875*l.*; that there were great riches in their temples; and that the statue of their goddess weighed about 40 talents of pure gold.*

That the Athenians had 10,000 talents in their treasury, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, is confirmed by Isocrates, † who observes also, that Pericles brought into it 8000 talents; ‡ besides what was destined for sacred uses; and that the Persians had given the Lacedæmonians 5000 talents to maintain the war against the Athenians. §

Heliodorus, quoted by Suidas, || relates, that the castle of Athens was completed in five years, had five gates, and cost 2012 talents, or 389,825*l.*

Demosthenes says, that the revenues of Athens were once 130 talents, or 25,187*l.* 10*s.* sterling; ¶ that afterwards they amounted to 400 talents, or 77,500*l.* And Xenophon §§ calculates, that at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, they were 1000 talents, or 193,750*l.*

* This was the statue of Minerva, made by the celebrated Phidias. Now, reckoning gold to silver, as 10 to 1, which was the ancient proportion, the gold of this statue amounted to 77,500*l.* but if we reckon according to the modern proportion of 16 to 1, it was much more valuable.

† Isocrat. de pace, p. 287.

‡ Ibid. p. 302.

§ Ες δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήνεγκεν ὀκτακίς χίλια τάλαντα, χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν.

§ Ibid. p. 295.

|| Suidas in voce προπυλαία.

¶ Philippic. 4.

§§ Anabas. lib. 7.

The same Xenophon after the retreat of the 10,000, sold his horse for 50 Darics, a gold coin, reckoned worth 1*l.* 12*s.* 3½*d.* According to which computation, he got for his horse 80*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* * But this was an inconsiderable price, when compared with that which Alexander gave for Bucephalus, during his father's life, *viz.* 13 talents, no less than 2518*l.* A great price indeed! †

The elder Tarquin is said to have laid out upon the foundation of the Capitol 40,000 libræ of silver, or 109,284*l.* ‡

After these examples, and so plain documents of the great sums of money, and the high prices of things merely ornamental among the Greeks and the Romans, it can scarcely be supposed, that the cheapness of living, and the low prices of the most common food, were occasioned by scarcity of money: it is more probable this arose from that vast plenty of necessaries, which proceeded from hence, that so great a proportion of the people applied themselves to pasturage and to agriculture.

But what I shall observe immediately, will go near to be decisive. It is certain, that even after the second Punic war, and the conquests of Sicily and of Macedonia, when there was surely great plenty of money in Italy, the necessaries of life were extremely cheap; nay, in the time of the

* Anabas. lib. 7. † Plutarch, in Alexand.

‡ Plutarch. in Poplicola.

emperors, when riches flowed from all quarters, when luxury rose to the highest pitch at which perhaps it ever arrived, and when the Romans were giving extravagant prices for trifles and delicacies, common provisions, which were necessary for the bulk of the people, were not proportionally dear. This cannot well be accounted for, unless they were in very great plenty.

According to Polybius, the Sicilian medimnus of wheat was even in his time sold commonly, in some parts of Italy, for four oboli; the same quantity of barley for two oboli; the metretes of wine for the same price. Now, if the medimnus Siculus did not differ much from the medimnus Atticus Georgicus, it contained more than six English, or four Scotch pecks; that is, six English pecks of wheat were sold for $5\frac{3}{4}d.$ sterling; six English pecks of barely for half as much; and more than ten English gallons of wine for the same low price. Such being the case in the age of Polybius, when there was no scarcity either of men or of money, this shews the prodigious abundance of common food. At this rate the English quarter of wheat would cost but half-a-crown, the quarter of barley only fifteen-pence, and the Scotch boll less than one shilling sterling. This brings the prices lower than in the days of Solon; and proving too much, may perhaps be thought to prove nothing; at least, it may be imagined that the measures are not exactly known. But what Polybius adds, will serve to obviate this objection, and shew,

that at any rate we cannot be much mistaken : for he observes further, that there was such plenty of provisions in the north of Italy at that time, that a traveller was well entertained in an inn with all necessaries he wanted, and seldom paid more than the quarter of an obolus, less than one third of a penny sterling. * How cheap and abundant must provisions have been, and how easily might a family be maintained in such a situation ! and how easily might a family be maintained still, what a prodigious quantity of food might be raised, and how cheap would provisions be in Great Britain, were all or the greatest part of those, who are at present employed in procuring ornaments, as industrious in raising grain and breeding cattle, as they are in providing toys, and administering to luxury !

From the days of Polybius, the Romans increased in power and in riches : and, during the reign of Augustus, and for some time afterwards, riches and luxury came to the greatest height ; the most extravagant prices were paid for delicacies ; and the rich lived at an expence unknown to modern ages ; of which I shall give a few examples from Arbuthnot's tables of antient coins, &c.

In those times many of the Romans were immensely rich.

Apicius was worth 807,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Crispus, a Burgher of Vercelles, 1,614,583*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

* Polybius Parisiis, 1609, folio, lib. ii. p. 103.

Murcus Crassus was worth the same sum.

Demetrius, a libertus of Pompey, 4000 talents, or 775,000*l*.

Pallas, a libertus of Claudius, 2,421,875*l*.

Seneca the philosopher in four years made 2,421,875 *l*.

Lentulus the Augur was worth 3,229,166*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

C. Cæcilius Isiodorus, though he had lost much in the civil war, left by will 4116 slaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, of other cattle 257,000, and in ready money 484,375 *l*.

Pomponius Atticus got from his father 16,145*l*. 16*s*. 8*d*.

The patrimony of Cato Minor was 19,375*l*.

Servius, in Virgil's life, says, he was worth 80,729*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*.

Cicero's effects must have been considerable: he owns that he had in Asia 17,762 *l*. 9*s*. 4*d*.

Great debts, as they are the effect of great credit, are an indication of great riches; some instances of which follow:

Curio contracted a debt of 484,375 *l*.

Julius Cæsar's debts, before he had been in any office, according to some, were 2,018,229 *l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. According to others, 807,291*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. According to others, 251,875 *l*. Crassus was his surety for 160,812*l*. 10*s*.

Milo contracted debts to the sum of 565,104 *l*. 3*s*. 4*d*.

Antony, at the ides of March, owed 322,916*l*.

13*s.* 4*d.*; which he paid before the kalends of April.

Otho, before he was emperor, ran in debt 1,602,083*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Some circumstances respecting the estate of M. Crassus, will further illustrate this subject. He had left him by his father 300 talents, or 58,125*l.* which Pultarch says he improved to 7100 talents, or 1,375,625*l.* He had done this before he went on his Parthian expedition; nay he had this great estate, though he had feasted the Roman people, and given every Roman citizen a donative of three months provision of corn.

There were some of very low rank and professions, who acquired great estates. Cobblers, dyers, and shoemakers, gave public shows to the people.

As both estates and debts among the Romans were often vastly great, so their expences were great in proportion.

Apicius, after having spent in his kitchen 807,291*l.* and squandered immense grants and pensions, being at last forced to look into his accounts for the first time, found he had a remainder of 80,729*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* but thinking that too little, he poisoned himself for fear of starving.

Tigellius, a singer, spent in five days 8072*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

Alagabalus laid out on a supper 24,218*l.* 15*s.*

Caligula spent on a supper 80,729*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

Vitellius, in eating and drinking within the year, spent 7,265,625*l.* Nay, Tacitus saith, he spent the same sum in a few months.

Lucullus's establishment for each supper in the Apollo, was 1614*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

Vitellius eat four times a-day; no supper, breakfast, or collation, under 3229*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

Great sums were given as donatives to the soldiers.

Paulus Æmilius gave each of his soldiers 7*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

Lucullus gave to each of his soldiers 30*l.* 13*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* After the taking of Tigranocerta, he gave to each 25*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* out of the spoils taken from Tigranes's army, and besides left the town to be plundered, except king Tigranes's treasure; where, among other riches, he found in ready money 1,550,000*l.*

Pompey, after he had overcome the pirates, in his triumph, gave to the public and the questors, 193,750*l.* and to each soldier 48*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

Julius Cæsar gave at one time to each soldier of the veteran legions 16*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* and to the equites 193*l.* 15*s.* At another time to each man 80*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* At another time, to each man 161*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* To the commander of a company double; or 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* To the tribuni militum and the equites, 645*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

Brutus gave to each soldier 1*l.* 12*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

Augustus Cæsar gave to each soldier of the prætorian bands, after he had served sixteen years, 161*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* He left to each soldier of the urbanæ cohortes 4*l.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* To the prætorian soldiers 8*l.* 1*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

At taking Alexandria, each Roman soldier got 8*l.* 1*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* to save the town.

Nero laid out on donatives at several times, 17,760,416*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*

The emperor Marcus Antoninus gave a donative to each soldier of 96*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* And his colleague Lucius gave 161*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

Pertinax affirms, that he gave a donative to the soldiers of 2,179,687*l.* 10*s.*

Herod king of Judæa gave in his lifetime at once 4*l.* 16*s.* 4½*d.*; and at his death 1*l.* 12*s.* 1½*d.* to each of his soldiers.

Besides donatives to the soldiers, the Roman emperors gave *congiaria*, or gifts to the people.

Julius Cæsar gave to each citizen, besides ten modii of corn, and ten pounds of oil, 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* He bequeathed to each of the people 2*l.* 8*s.* 5¼*d.*; or, as some say, only 16*s.* 1¾*d.*

Augustus gave several smaller *congiaria* to the people. But at one time he gave 2*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* not omitting the very children, though the common custom was not to give to any under the age of eleven. Eusebius in his *Chronicon* writes, that, after the battle of Actium, there were reckoned of Roman citizens 4,160,000: suppose only two millions of these received the forementioned sum of 2*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* it would amount to 4,036,458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Augustus left by his testament to each of the common people, 2*l.* 8*s.* 5¼*d.*

Nero gave a *congiarium* of 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*

Antoninus Philosophus gave a very large *congiarium* of 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

His son Commodus gave 23*l.* 8*s.* 2¾*d.*

Severus gave a congiarium of ten aurei, amounting to 1,614,583*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

The ambitus, or bribing for offices, was very expensive.

Milo, when he stood for the consulate, gave to each voter 32*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*

Julian promised to each of the soldiers 201*l.* 16*s.* 5½*d.* if they would choose him emperor.

A man, employed as a spy in Catiline's conspiracy, got 1614*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

Paulus, the consul, was bribed by Julius Cæsar to be of his party, with a sum of 56,510*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* Others call the sum 290,625*l.*

Two considerable bribes are mentioned in law-suits, one of 8072*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* Another of 5166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Gabinus was accused of taking a sum of 1,937,500*l.*

The revenues of the Roman empire seem to have been vastly great.

Paulus Æmilius, after he had conquered Perseus, king of Macedon, brought into the treasury 1,856,770*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

Scipio having conquered Antiochus, brought into it 1,614,583*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

Before the third Punic war, there was in the treasury in the consulate of Sextus Junius and Lucius Aurelius, in gold and silver, bullion, and coined money (reckoning the gold only ten times the value of the silver) 566,577*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.*

In the beginning of the social war, it is said, there were above fifty-two millions in the treasury;

but it is thought that the sum is too extravagant, and that the numbers are not correct.

Julius Cæsar brought at once into the treasury 12,593,750*l*.

In the beginning of the civil war, when he entered into Rome, he took out of the treasury, in gold and silver, bullion and ready money, 1,095,979*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*.

Tiberius left in the treasury 21,796,875*l*. And the revenues of the whole empire must have been very great, though it is thought, that what Vespasian said at his accession was extravagant, viz. that more than 322 millions sterling were necessary to support the commonwealth.

Let us now consider the prices of some particular commodities.

Pliny mentions a jack-ass for a stallion, bought for 3229*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. And that in Celtiberia, a province of Spain, a she-ass has brought colts to the value of 3229*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*.

Varro speaks of an ass sold in his own time at Rome for 484*l*. 7*s*. 6*d*.

The price of a peacock was 1*l*. 12*s*. 3½*d*.

A flock of an hundred of them was sold at a much dearer rate, for 322*l*. 18*s*. 4*d*. One of their eggs was worth 3*s*. 2¼*d*.

Fine doves were sold the pair for 1*l*. 12*s*. 3½*d*. Others of a finer kind were much dearer. Varro relates, that Axius refused to give a pair of his under 12*l*. 18*s*. 4*d*. when the merchant offered him 8*l*. 1*s*. 5½*d*.

The Romans were more extravagant in the

prices of fish than of fowl. Juvenal tells us of a mullus bought for 48*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* According to Macrobius, there was paid for another the sum of 56*l.* 10*s.* 1½*d.* For a third, according to Pliny, 61*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* which he reckons the more wonderful, the mullus being a fish that seldom exceeded two pound weight.

C. Hirrius sold his fish ponds for 32,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* This man would not sell, but he lent 6000 lampreys for Cæsar's triumphal supper. Lucullus's fish, after his death, were sold for the same price of 32,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Peaches were sold at first for 7¾*d.* but afterwards they rose to 4*s.* 10*d.*

Large asparagus was sometimes sold for six pence a-piece.

The pound of wool, or cloth, dyed a violet purple, cost 3*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* The Tyrian double dye could scarce be bought for 35*l.* 9*s.* 1¼*d.* per pound. And the dying of one English pound of wool in some cases cost 4*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*

Lollia Paulina, when dressed out in her jewels, wore about the value of 322,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

The triclinaria, or quilts or carpets were dear. One is said to have paid for such carpets 6458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Nero paid 32,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Some paid for one piece of linen 8072*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

The vestes byssinæ were very dear: the weight of a pound averdupois of such cloths cost 49*l.* 12*s.*

The price of such slaves as were well skilled

in the finer arts was very high. Seneca relates, that Calvisius Labinus had many Anagnostæ slaves, or such as were learned and could read to their masters, and that none of them was purchased under 807*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* According to Pliny, Daphnis, the grammarian, cost 565*l.* 10*d.* Roscius, the actor, could gain yearly 4036*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* A morio, or fool, was sold for 161*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

Pictures, statues, and other pieces of fine workmanship, gave great prices.

The Medea and Ajax of Timomachus were bought by Julius Cæsar for 15,500*l.* Hortensius paid for Cydia's Argonauts 1162*l.* 10*s.* The Venus Anadyomene (that is, issuing out of the sea) was valued at 100 talents (for so much tribute was remitted,) or 19,375*l.* The Archigallus, or high-priest of Parrhasius, of which Tiberius was very fond, was valued at 484*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* Lucullus bought a copy of Glycera, Pamphilus's maid, the original being painted by Pamphilus himself, for 397*l.* 10*s.* The statue of Apollo in the Capitol, brought from Pontus by Lucullus, which was very large, cost 29,062*l.* 10*s.* Lucullus bought the Protoplasma, or model of Venus Genetrix, for 484*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* A model of paste of a cup was purchased for 193*l.* 15*s.* C. Gracchus bought silver dolphins at 40*l.* 7*s.* 3½*d.* the pound. Crassus had several silver vessels bought at 48*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* the pound. And reckoning according to the standard of our coin, and the English pound, the mere workmanship of the plate comes to 48*l.* 19*s.*

1*d.* per pound. The Romans were very costly in their vasa murrhina, and in their trullæ: one that held $3\frac{1}{2}$ pints, cost 64*5l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

The prices of books, and the rewards of such as taught the sciences, of orators and physicians, were also high. In short, almost every thing that was not necessary for the bulk of the people, gave great prices. Indeed modern ages can hardly form an idea of the riches, the magnificence, and the luxury of the Romans in the declension of their commonwealth, and the beginning of their monarchy. *

As the riches and the luxury of the great men in Rome increased so prodigiously, this must have occasioned a vast circulation, and a general plenty of gold and silver; nor was it possible to confine the money to a few hands: however, the necessaries of life continued at a moderate price, and did not rise in their value in proportion to the high rates which were set on the materials of luxury.

We have seen already from Plutarch, † that the price of sheep and of oxen was very low in

* As Mr Arbuthnot has made so large a collection of the prices of various sorts of commodities; and as it is generally known, in what an expensive manner the Romans lived for some time before and after the age of Augustus, I have satisfied myself with taking the examples I have given, from p. 134, and the calculation of the value in our money out of his collection. The rest of the quotations, both in the Dissertation and in the Appendix, are taken from the original authors.

† See above, p. 129.

the days of Valerius Poplicola. We learn from Pliny, that Manius Martius, an Ædile, procured corn for the people, at the rate of an *as* the modius, which is less than two shillings half penny sterling the English quarter, or about one shilling and six pence the Scotch boll; and that Minutius Augurinus, the eleventh tribune of the people, reduced the price of corn to this rate in three market days. *

Varro, quoted by Pliny, relates, that when L. Metellus led a great number of elephants in triumph, one might have purchased, for about three farthings, 1.014 English pecks of corn (of Scotch pecks .688) of dried figs more than 27 pounds English weight, of flesh 10 pounds 11 ounces, and of oil more than 9 pounds. This L. Metellus, according to the *fasti consulares*, could not have been so early as the 500 year of Rome. †

* “Manius Martius ædilis plebis primum frumentum populo in modios assibus donavit. Minutius Augurinus, qui Sp. Melium coarguerat, farris pretium in trinis nundinis ad assem redegit undecimus plebei tribunus.” *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. 18. cap. 3.

† “M. Varro auctor est, cum L. Metellus in triumpho plurimos duxit elephantos, assibus singulis farris modios fuisse, item vini congios, ficique siccæ pondo 30, olei pondo 10, carnis pondo 12.” *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. 18. cap. 3.

He adds in the same chapter :

“Quænam ergo tantæ ubertatis causa erat ? Ipsorum tunc manibus imperatorum colebantur agri (ut fas est credere) gaudente terra vomere laureato, et triumphali aratore : sive illi eadem cura semina tractabant, qua bella ; eademque diligentia arva dis-

In one of Cicero's orations against Verres, we may see the prices of corn, when both the Roman power and luxury were become high. He mentions two kinds of corn in Sicily, the *decumanum* and the *imperatum*; the *decumanum* was bought for three sesterterii the Roman modius, or the English peck for five pence three farthings, and the Scotch peck for eight pence. The *imperatum* was higher; for the Roman modius cost four sesterterii, or the English peck seven pence two farthings, and the Scotch peck eleven pence. According to this estimation, the senate ordained money to be given to Verres for buying corn in Sicily. But it appears from this oration, that nobody in Sicily at that time got more than fifteen sesterces for the *medimnus* of corn, which was six Roman modii. At this rate, the Roman modius cost $2\frac{1}{2}$ sesterces, or the English peck four pence three farthings, and the Scotch peck seven pence. But while Verres was prætor of Sicily, the prices were sometimes lower, and the Roman modius was sold for two sesterces. *

ponebant, qua castra; sive honestis manibus omnia lætius proveniunt, quoniam et curiosius fiunt."

* "In *medimna* singula video ex literis publicis tibi *Halesinos* H—s quinos denos dedisse. Ostendam ex tabulis locupletissimorum aratorum, eodem tempore neminem in *Sicilia* pluris frumentum vendidisse.

"Est enim modius lege H—s III. æstimatus, fuit autem, te præ-

From which it appears, that, notwithstanding the vast luxury and immense riches of Italy, corn might be bought in the neighbouring isle of Sicily cheaper than it is often with us; and that the price of it was but little affected by these extravagant prices which were given for delicacies and ornaments.

After Rome was burnt in the time of Nero, we learn from Tacitus,* that the price of corn was reduced to three nummi. This shows it had been higher before; but we can hardly suppose it had been higher than four. If it was reduced a fourth part, it was a great deal. From hence it appears plainly, that in times of the greatest luxury, when curiosities gave the most extravagant prices, corn never rose in proportion.

I do not however pretend, that the prices of corn were never higher; but it seems evident, that they are often higher among us, than they were among the Romans in the height of their grandeur, when the people of rank lived at a much greater expence than the richest and most extravagant among us, and when they had estates, of which we moderns have scarce any conception.

tore, ut tu in multum epistolis ad amicos tuos gloriaris H—s II.”
Cic. tert. Verr.

* “ Pretiumque frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos.”
Tacit. Annal. lib. 15. cap. 39.

But the truth of our hypothesis appears in the clearest light, from what Cornelius Nepos informs us, concerning the expences of Pomponius Atticus: indeed this passage alone is almost decisive. He observes, that Atticus had a very good house, made use of all the best things, entertained persons of all ranks, and yet spent no more than 9*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* in the month, or in the whole year 116*l.* 5*s.* * A very small sum for one of the most rich and most eminent citizens of Rome, in times of such plenty and magnificence. This is accounted for in the most probable way by what the historian adds, that he was elegant, not magnificent, splendid, not sumptuous, affected neatness, not superfluity; in short, that he loved the ancient simplicity lived on plain food, and did not throw away his money on delicacies, which could not be purchased, unless for extra-

* “*Nam cum esset pecuniosus, nemo illo minus fuit emax, minus ædificator. Neque tamen non in primis bene habitavit, omnibusque optimis rebus usus est.—Elegans, non magnificus; splendidus, non sumptuosus; omni diligentia munditiem, non affluentiam affectabat. Supellex modica, non multa, ut in neutram partem conspici posset. Nec hoc præteribo (quanquam nonnullis leve visum iri putem) cum in primis lautus esset eques Romanus et non parum liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum homines invitaret; scimus non amplius, quam terna millia æris, peræque in singulos menses, ex ephemeride eum expensum sumptui ferre solitum. Atque hoc non *audium*, sed *cognitum* prædicamus. Sæpe enim propter familiaritatem, domesticis rebus interfuimus.*” *Vita Pomp. Attic.* cap. 13.

vagant prices. How cheap must plain food have been at that time !

In general, a great deal of the primitive simplicity remained long in the world ; and even when luxury increased, and great men were very expensive, the ancient taste, accompanied with an industry which was directed chiefly to the improvement of agriculture, produced the necessities of life in great plenty. Simplicity and frugality cannot alone make nations great and populous : mankind must also be industrious, and their industry must be directed in a proper manner. Thus industry, which in ancient times was directed to the provision of food, caused a wonderful plenty : and from hence, in an especial manner, we may account for the superior populousness of many ancient nations.

To what has been said I would add, that the countries we have chiefly in view must have been best peopled, when all the causes operated most strongly ; that is, as one may conjecture, about the time of Alexander the Great, and before the Roman empire had enslaved the world.

Some of those causes which have been assigned for the scarcity of people in modern times, viz. the great number of unmarried priests and women in Popish countries ; the difference between ancient and modern customs with respect to servants, and the maintenance of the

poor; the right of primogeniture; the great number of soldiers in Europe; the extensive trade with the East and West Indies; the largeness of modern governments compared with that of the ancient, and finally, the greater simplicity of the ancient world,—seem to be so fixed, and the methods of living arising from them, and founded upon them, so deeply rooted, that there is not the smallest prospect at present of any considerable alteration in those articles. Nay, not only is there not the least appearance, but there seems not to be even the smallest chance, that there shall be any sudden increase of mankind, equal to what appeared in ancient times. It were however to be wished, that, as the bountiful Author of nature formed this earth chiefly for an habitation to man, and as with right culture it might support a much greater number than actually live upon it, the present scarcity of people in so many countries were more attended to, and that proper schemes were proposed for putting things on a better footing. Indeed it is true, that those who are employed in the administration of public affairs, are alone able to carry such schemes into execution; yet every private citizen may be allowed to employ himself in speculations, about such matters, as may tend to the good of his country. This is the only apology I shall offer, for making a few observations on the state of Scotland.

In general, a country can never be said to be

sufficiently peopled, while either great tracts of land in it are not cultivated to that degree which they can easily bear, or while a very great part of the grain, of the fruits, and of the cattle which the country actually produces, is not consumed at home. Indeed it may be profitable, in several cases, to export corn and cattle, as well as other commodities; yet a country is surely most powerful, when it has abundance of people to consume its grain and its cattle at home, and when its lands are cultivated to the full. Till all countries are peopled in this manner, the earth is not replenished with that number of inhabitants which it is able to maintain.

However, a latitude must here be allowed. For this scheme, if carried to its utmost extent, would be an hinderance to mutual commerce. And if the whole earth were cultivated to the full, and every country had a number of inhabitants sufficient to consume its own product, many would perish at particular times by bad crops and by famines: but a danger so distant needs not alarm, as, from the present condition of the world, there is not the least reason to fear that the earth shall be cultivated to the full, or that every country shall be plentifully stored with inhabitants.

In particular, Great Britain, especially the northern part of it, is not peopled to the full; as there are both great tracts of land uncultivated,

and a great deal of grain and of cattle exported out of it.

The causes of this may be easily deduced from what has been said above; among others, these following are remarkable.

First, Many of our youth leave the country, and go abroad to push their fortunes, because, through some defect in our policy, they either cannot have business at home, or cannot raise such fortunes as will satisfy their ambition.

Secondly, Many who remain at home, particularly the younger sons of the richer families, either imagine themselves not to be, or in reality are not, able to maintain families suitably to their birth; or, though able during their own life, yet cannot leave a sufficient provision for their families after their death; and thus are discouraged from marrying: for both which reasons many of our women are and must be unmarried.

Further, it may be observed, that our lands are not sufficiently cultivated, even where they are capable of great improvement. Hence large tracts serve to maintain only a small number of people.

If we ask why our lands are so ill cultivated, besides the obvious causes arising from the poverty and the unskilfulness of many of our farmers, the shortness of their leases, and other things which will occur on the least reflection, it is not a little owing to a want of inclination

for agriculture, and even to a contempt of it, in many of the richer sort. This puts them upon educating their younger sons, either to some of the liberal professions, or to the army, or merchandise, or some of the more genteel mechanic employments, but seldom or never to agriculture. It is true, of late, a better spirit has arisen for improving lands, as well as manufactures; yet it must be owned, that our schemes are still very defective, and that agriculture has never been sufficiently encouraged among us.

Thus, having taken notice of some of those causes, which prevent the culture of the lands, and, of course, the increase of the people in North Britain, it is plain that things might be greatly rectified were due attention given to the advantages of agriculture, and due encouragement given to carry it on with spirit.

In this view it may be considered, that though it should be allowed, we have often more grain and more cattle than we consume at home, whence there is less encouragement to cultivate our lands; yet since, in the present condition of Scotland, of Britain, and of Europe, there is room for exporting both, it cannot be said, that great profits may not arise from cultivating the ground.

But if, instead of having grain to export out of Scotland, it is true, that more is imported than exported, and that we often want supplies from England or Ireland, the argument for encouraging agriculture becomes stronger. At least,

whatever may be in this, it is certain, our agriculture has not of late kept pace with our manufactures, which makes living in the principal towns of Scotland dearer than in many of the towns and counties of England.

Besides, as the former reasonings tend to shew, that the plenty and the cheapness of the most simple food, is the great encouragement to the bulk of mankind to marry, and of consequence a great source of populousness, on this account grain and cattle can scarcely be in too great plenty, or their prices too cheap.

'Tis true it may be said, and often with too much truth, that great plenty and cheapness of provisions hinder labour, render servants and the poorer sort of the people idle and insolent, and impoverish both the landed gentlemen and the farmers. But this is only a very partial and very narrow view of the matter; for this idleness and insolence proceeds chiefly from an accidental plenty, which happens only at particular times, and in some particular seasons. Were there a constant abundance and cheapness, with a tolerable policy in other respects, this would have the happiest influence in strengthening a nation, by the vast increase of the people.

Such confined observations, and such narrow maxims concerning the danger of plenty, are extremely just, if the great body of a people are only to be managed and treated in that manner, which may render them most serviceable for

supporting the grandeur, and heightening the luxury of a few; but maxims of this kind can never serve to make a nation in general great and populous, or society happy.

In order therefore to increase the stock of provisions, it would be of great advantage that rich men, instead of breeding all their children to the employments before mentioned, would educate some of them for agriculture.

Many things recommend such a plan; could young gentlemen once be brought to a just taste of life, and to relish so useful an employment. I shall only observe,

That there are many places in Scotland, where leases may be got at a moderate rent, and where plenty of lime, of marle, and other materials for improvement, may be found. Now, if people of substance were well instructed in country affairs, agriculture is an employment which they might turn to great account. They might live more innocently and more agreeably, and bid fair to be more rich and more happy than in most professions. Dirty houses and nastiness, though too common in our own, and perhaps most other countries, are not its necessary and inseparable attendants, *

* Since publishing this book in the year 1753, the author has changed his mind on the article of breeding gentlemen's younger sons to agriculture. He still believes, that it would be wise for themselves, and happy for the nation, if they had a just taste of life and manners; but he is afraid that, according to the present

And, as there are still many idle hands among us, notwithstanding a growing spirit of industry unknown to our ancestors, it would greatly promote agriculture, and contribute much to the value and the improvement of lands, if the most useful manufactures were erected in the villages, and supported by rich men of all ranks. Thus the manufacturers would encourage agriculture, by providing markets for the produce of the land; the husbandmen would encourage manufacturers, by purchasing their commodities; and both would conspire, by united endeavours, to make the lands fertile, the country populous, and society flourish. *

By such methods, the better sort of families in Scotland might keep many of their sons at home, greatly augment the number of the people, contribute to the improvement of lands and the growth of manufactures, banish idleness, and set a good example before those of inferior rank: nor could this fail to have an happy influence on the religion and the morals of the people.

taste and fashion, few of these young gentlemen can be educated in such a way, as to acquire a relish for a life, so nearly allied to true wisdom.

* It may perhaps be thought, that I have lost sight of the preceding reasoning. But though I am of opinion, that too great a variety of manufactures are disadvantageous, some must always be allowed to be necessary; and as it cannot be expected, that the ancient taste can all at once be revived, it is even better that people be employed in less necessary arts, than be altogether idle.

A scheme might also be devised, for supporting the families of such as can easily provide for themselves and their families when alive, but cannot so certainly provide for their widows and children, if they happen to die at an early time of life. This scheme might be somewhat after the model of that lately established by law, for a provision for the widows and children of the ministers of the church, and the masters in the universities of Scotland, viz. by erecting one large, or several small societies of married men, who should pay either all at once, or annually, during their lives, certain sums, greater or less, as they might judge convenient, on condition, that proportional sums be paid after their death to their widows or children, in such manner, and with such provisions, as might be thought most proper. Such societies might be a security for the support of widows and children, on the event of the husband's or parent's death; might be as useful in policy as banks, cash accounts, and insurance offices in the mercantile world, and be a great encouragement to marry. It is chiefly by encouraging marriage, by keeping our youth at home, and by taking a greater turn to agriculture and the most useful manufactures, that it seems possible, in the present circumstances of the world, to increase the number of the people in any one country, without draining other places of a proportional number of their inhabitants.

The peculiar situation and wildness of one part, I mean the Highlands of Scotland, make me presume, ere I conclude this Dissertation, to add some observations on the state of a part of my country, which, though at present almost a desert, is able to maintain a great number of people, and whose present inhabitants are overwhelmed with ignorance and with barbarity, though capable of the same civility which distinguishes the rest of the subjects of Britain.

The late unprovoked rebellion, raised by the rude inhabitants of these wilds, in order to dethrone the best of kings, to overturn the best of governments, and to undo the liberty of Britain, having come to so great and so unexpected an height, and having thereby awakened the attention of government, as well as that of others, who had influence with those in the administration of affairs, has produced some excellent laws, by which the liberty of the whole country is better secured, manufactures and other kinds of labour are encouraged and promoted in Scotland, and the inhabitants of the Highlands may be brought from a state of barbarity and of slavery, to a state of civility and of independence. By the happy influence of these laws, a spirit of industry has seized the minds of the people, and in a few years wrought no inconsiderable change on the country. Indeed it is impossible to express, how great obligations every loyal subject to his majesty, every zealous friend to the protestant

succession, and every sincere assertor of the liberty of Britain, have to those, whose hearty regard to the interest of their country has produced the happy prospect we enjoy at present, of living for the future in peace, and of seeing liberty penetrate into the most remote parts of the island.

But hitherto this change has chiefly affected those parts of Scotland, which were tolerably well peopled, and that by inhabitants, who, though it must be owned were not over industrious, were yet civilized before. The Highlands continue still in their former state of barbarity and of idleness; indeed will long continue in it, unless some further scheme be carried into execution, which may have a more immediate effect, and may make opulence and industry penetrate into their innermost and most distant parts. Unless they penetrate thus far, we need never reckon we have done enough; for then, and not till then, shall the Highlanders be civilized, as well as the Highlands improved. How this may be effected, and industry be made to penetrate thus far, must be left to the consideration of those who can apply the proper remedies.

However, thus much may be said in general, that it is not by tillage chiefly, and by the encouragement of it, that either the greatest part of the Highlands can be fully cultivated, or the Highlanders themselves civilized: for few parts of this country seem, either by their soil, or by their

situation, to be fitted for producing corn. The lateness of their springs, the earliness of their winters, the duration of their cold, the quantity of their snow, the raininess of their seasons, and the boisterousness of their climate, scarcely admit of that species of crop. Craggy rocks and high mountains cover the greatest extent of that region. There are indeed some charming spots and pleasant vallies, which admit of tillage. But how few, and how inconsiderable are these!

It seems therefore that the lands ought to be improved chiefly for pasture; and no doubt, if divided into well-disposed inclosures, are very capable of improvement in this way, and well able to maintain abundance of cattle.

But the inhabitants themselves can only be civilized, by being made industrious; and as the country does not seem to admit of much tillage, and the pasturing of cattle employs but few hands, the only way, in which they can be made industrious, is by the introducing among them some sort of industry different from agriculture.

The abundance of their lakes, the neighbourhood of the sea, and the hardness of the inhabitants, seem immediately to point out one kind of industry, namely, fisheries, in which it might be proper to employ them. In this way they might provide food in plenty, not only to themselves, but for a great number of others. By exporting their fish, they might acquire wealth; by acquiring wealth, they would become industrious; by

being industrious, they would be civilized. Thus the Highlands might at last be well peopled, and its inhabitants help to promote the interest of Britain.

Further, were it possible to send some industrious tradesmen and manufacturers among them, who might set an immediate example of industry before their eyes, this might engage them to betake themselves sooner to honest labour. For the sight of the great profits of labour, and of the affluence and abundance with which it supplies the labourer, would naturally produce a love of those profits, and a desire of that affluence and abundance.

Indeed the laws which have been enacted, and the schemes which, in consequence of these laws, have been devised for the improvement and cultivation of this part of the country, must be confessed to be extremely good, and are irrefragable documents of his Majesty's and the legislature's regard for the good of the whole subjects, as well as the welfare of those who are insensible of their own felicity ; yet something is still wanted to make industry penetrate into the centre of the Highlands. How happy would it be, if a few villages, stored with industrious hands, could be raised in the wildest and most rugged parts of their country !

In short, without the wisest and best digested schemes, for providing in a speedy manner against the violence of these our deluded countrymen, for

securing liberty from their insurrections, and for rooting out the spirit of clanship and disaffection from among them, not only the peace, but the liberty of Britain shall be continually in danger, and their rudeness and barbarity shall, in all probability, leave them later than the remembrance of the Pretender. He may be quite forgotten, ere they shall be civilized. *

CONCLUSION.

Philosophers have been advising, and divines calling upon mankind to cultivate frugality, temperance, simplicity, contentment with a little, and patience of labour, demonstrating, that these humble virtues are the only means by which they can expect to secure solid, lasting, and independent felicity. They have painted their charms in the most lively colours ; described in the most inviting manner, that inward peace and tranquillity of mind, which is the inseparable attendant on these sober virtues ; and taught, that it is in this way alone that men can enjoy happiness, freedom, and independence. Such has been the language of philosophy ; such has been the language of religion.

* Since publishing this book in the year 1753, the Author has thought of several expedients for improving the Highlands, which may be published afterwards.

But the cultivation of these virtues not only makes individuals happy ; from what has been maintained in the preceding dissertation, it appears, further, to be the surest way of rendering the earth populous, and making society flourish. It was simplicity of taste, frugality, patience of labour, and contentment with a little, which made the world so populous in ancient times. The decay of these virtues, and the introduction of a corrupted and luxurious taste, have contributed in a great measure to diminish the numbers of mankind in modern days.

From hence we may conclude, that it is not the prevalency of luxury, but of simplicity of taste among private citizens, which makes the public flourish : and that private vices are far from being, what a notable writer has employed the whole force of his genius to demonstrate them to be, public benefits. Indeed 'tis ridiculous to condemn elegance and refinement of every kind. If displayed in public works, and things of a durable nature, they contribute to promote the happiness, as well as the grandeur of society, and will be no hindrance to populousness. But if displayed in every the least trifle in private life, and employed to satisfy the ridiculous taste and whimsical fancies of each particular citizen, they must contribute in a great degree to diminish the number of mankind, as the constant labour, great expence, and vast number of hands, by which this luxury

is maintained, must make the necessities of life scarce and dear.

In this manner the most humble virtues are found to be not only consistent with, but greatly conducive to, the populousness and grandeur of society.

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APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS
CONCERNING THE
NUMBERS OF MANKIND
IN ANCIENT AND MODERN AGES:
WITH
SOME REMARKS ON MR HUME'S POLITICAL DISCOURSE,
INTITULED,
OF THE POPULOUSNESS OF ANCIENT NATIONS.

De hoc priusquam scribamus, hæc præcipienda videntur lectoribus, ne alienos mores ad suos referant, neve ea, quæ ipsis leviora sunt, pari modo apud cæteros fuisse, arbitrentur.

COR. NEP. in Epaminond. cap. 1.

APPENDIX, &c.

SINCE the preceding dissertation was composed, a discourse, "Of the Populousness of ancient Nations," has been published by Mr Hume, in which the learned author depreciates antiquity, exalts modern times, and endeavours to prove, by all the arguments which a lively and acute genius could suggest, that the superior populousness of the ancient to that of the modern world, is not so certain, as is believed by the passionate admirers of antiquity.

The author of the dissertation, though much pleased with that gentleman's uncommon ingenuity, and struck with the brilliancy of his arguments, continued still to be of opinion, that what seemed to be confirmed by so many concurring testimonies, and to be supported by the uniform evidence of all ancient history, could not well be false. He suspected therefore, that Mr Hume's arguments were ill-founded, and resolved to review a subject so curious, so important, and so fertile in consequences; and to try if he could disco-

ver the latent fallacy of those showy reasonings, which puzzled, but did not convince. Thus after having considered more accurately the force of his arguments, inspected more carefully some of the authors of antiquity, and reflected more attentively on the state of the ancient world, he now offers to the public the result of his observations, in which he endeavours to illustrate more fully some things that were only hinted at in the Dissertation; and at the same time to obviate the objections arising from what Mr Hume has advanced in his discourse.

It would be a tedious, as well as an useless task, to follow minutely the author of the political discourse, through all his observations, and all his consequences.

In general it may be remarked, that in various places of his work, he has made several concessions, and granted many propositions to be true, which are fundamental to the truth of the hypothesis maintained in the foregoing Dissertation. An impartial inquirer is ever more fond of truth than of victory. Hence we find him admitting, * that nothing could be more favourable to the propagation of mankind, than the establishment of small governments, and an equality of fortune among the citizens; † that agriculture is that

* Pag. 183, 184.

† By the same reasoning, an equal division of the father's estate among his children must appear to be favourable to propagation.

species of industry which is chiefly requisite to the subsistence of multitudes of people, and that it flourished greatly in some countries in ancient times; * that marriage was almost universal among all ranks of men in times of more remote antiquity, insomuch that even the soldiers among the ancients were all married. †

Further, though he contends, that the refinements of modern ages must have operated something towards the easy subsistence of men, and consequently towards their propagation and increase, ‡ he does not deny, that simplicity of taste is attended with many advantages :|| though he seems disposed to believe, that the Roman empire introduced a peace and a civility which had not obtained formerly, he candidly observes, how much it tended in other respects to the ruin of industry and of agriculture :§ though he considers the barbarous and inhuman custom, among the ancients, of exposing infants, ¶ and their unnatural passions, |||| as disadvantages on the side of antiquity, he acknowledges at the same time, that the discouragements to marry in the Popish church are yet greater disadvantages §§.

* P. 208.

† P. 188.

‡ P. 210.

|| P. 183, 184.

§ P. 168, 169, 239, 253.

¶ P. 180.

|||| P. 182.

§§. Convents ought to be considered not only as burdensome to the public, and oppressive to those confined in them, but also as destructive to populousness. What our author hath observed, “ That were the land which belongs to a convent bestowed on a noble-

But though our author has admitted, that ancient ages had the advantage in some particular respects, he conceives, that the disadvantages under which they laboured, were more than sufficient to form a counter-balance; and, on the whole, gives the preference to modern times in respect of populousness.

These disadvantages on the side of the ancients he endeavours to find out, first, in their domestic, and next, in their political situation, compared with those of modern times. Under the head of their domestic economy, he considers the institution of slavery as remarkably unfavourable to populousness. With respect to their political situation, he takes notice, first, of their unsettled and turbulent condition, both in peace and war,

man, he would spend its revenue on dogs, horses, grooms, footmen, cooks, and chambermaids, and his family would not furnish many more citizens than the convent," (p. 179.) may sometimes be true, but is not sufficient to shew, that convents are not very unfavourable to populousness. The revenues of a convent may surely be put to as bad an use; but are not the revenues of most lands put to a better, than to maintain a superstitious society of monks or of nuns, who do nothing to support their species? How many well-peopled villages have arisen out of the ruins of monasteries and convents? Paisley, anciently the habitation of monks, now one of the most industrious as well as best peopled villages in our own country, is an obvious example of this truth. But, when such places continue from generation to generation in the possession of an useless and unprofitable set of mortals, they become highly destructive. There was nothing of the kind in antiquity, which can be supposed to have had such a pernicious effect.

and endeavours to shew, that their foreign as well as civil wars were more frequent and bloody; that their institutions in time of peace were more tyrannical and oppressive; and that their maxims neither of war nor of peace were so well calculated to preserve order and stability, as the milder maxims of modern times: Secondly, that their simplicity, and their ignorance of those refinements of modern times, which have improved human life, and rendered it more commodious, were a considerable disadvantage in respect of populousness. On both which accounts he is inclined to believe, that ancient ages must have been less populous: and in consequence of his theory, when he proceeds to inquire into the facts, he rejects the testimony of ancient authors, as incredible and absurd, when they represent ancient nations as more populous than seems to him to be consistent with the superior refinements, and more humane and stable policy of modern ages.

It will be proper to follow our author through each of these particular heads.

PART I.

Mr Hume has, in the first place, presented us with a most dismal picture of the domestic economy of the ancients, and endeavoured to shew, that the institution of slavery must have been unfavourable to propagation, both because the slaves

were cruelly treated by their masters, and because the males and females were not allowed to have mutual intercourse. But upon inquiry it will be found, that they not only were not so harshly treated as our author imagines, but were commonly well treated; that their treatment did not debilitate them, or hinder them from propagating; that interest, no less than humanity, led the masters to encourage them to propagate; and finally, that the slaves multiplied exceedingly, and that the Vernæ or home-born slaves were extremely numerous.

The low condition of the ancient slaves, must necessarily have exposed them to many insults, and to much oppression, notwithstanding the best laws which could have been framed for their protection. That same contempt, that same severity, which at present may be observed in superiors towards their inferiors; nay, a greater degree of this insolence must have often appeared in ancient times. The pleasure and humour of the master would be by far too much, and the happiness of the slaves too little regarded. However, either the ancients were moved by humanity, which has ever a mighty influence on the generality of mankind, to deal kindly by their slaves; or when motives of this kind did not influence, their conduct must have been chiefly regulated by regard to their own interest.

In times of more remote antiquity, before the reign of Alexander the Great, and the establish-

ment of the Roman empire, during which period, according to the Dissertation, the world was most populous, slaves must have been better treated, than they were afterwards in times of luxury; for while simplicity remained, the masters lived in greater familiarity with their slaves, and of course treated them with more gentleness. This is confirmed by Seneca,* with respect to the Romans. That sanctity of manners, for which they were so remarkable before the Carthaginian wars, was inconsistent with barbarity towards their slaves. What our author † has quoted from Demosthenes, shews how gently they were treated by the Athenians. Tacitus ‡ takes notice of

* “ Ne illud quidem videtis, quam omnem invidiam majores nostri dominis, omnem contumeliam servis detraxerint? dominum, patrem familiæ appellaverunt: servos (quod etiam in minimis ad huc durat) familiares. Instituerunt diem festum, quo non solum cum servis domini vescerentur; sed quo utique honores illis in domo gerere, jus dicere permiserunt, et domum pusillam rem publicam esse judicaverunt.”

Seneca. epist. 47.

† P. 171.

‡ “ Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas. Inter eadem pecora in eadem humo degunt; donec ætas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat.—Cæteris servis, non in nostrum morem descriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur: suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis ut colono injungit: et servus hactenus paret. Cætera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum, ac vinculis et opere coercere, rarum.”

Tacitus de morib. German. cap. 20. 25.

the lenity of the Germans ; and it is probable the case was the same in most other antient nations. The severe and rigorous treatment of this inferior order of men, seems to have prevailed only among the Romans, in the more degenerate times of their commonwealth, and during their monarchy. 'Tis from those corrupted ages of Rome that Mr Hume has brought all his examples of the barbarous usage of slaves, except one ; and this one viz. the inhuman practice, among the Greeks, of expiscating the truth by the torture of slaves, will be found to make little for his purpose : for this practice was not confined to slaves ; freemen were not exempted, where it was necessary, or other evidence could not be got ; 'tis certain, at any rate, that it could not be frequent, as few cases would require it. Nay, in this respect, have modern times any advantage ? Torture is allowed at present in almost all the countries of Europe. Was it not allowed, even in Britain, not very many years ago, though it is now happily abolished ? But whatever sanction may have been given at any period to such a cruel practice, we cannot surely imagine, that the distant possibility of being subjected to torture could have the least influence to prevent marriage. *

* By the Roman law, torture was allowed in civil cases, only when the truth could be found out in no other way : and in criminal cases, there was no difference between slaves and freemen of lower rank : nay, in some cases, men of the highest rank were put to the question.

That the Roman slaves, as Mr Hume affirms, were sometimes kept in *ergastula*, which may be translated work-houses, or houses of correction, cannot be denied; however, it is not probable that they were common, till latter and more corrupted times: * for as long as slaves lived in a familiar manner with their masters, and were not very numerous, such *ergastula* would be less necessary, and must have been introduced by the degeneracy of their manners. Even in the worst times, all the slaves were not confined in them: the better, and, no doubt, the far greater part were at liberty. Columella makes a plain distinction between the *soluti* and the *vincti*; these last must have been only the rascally part of the slaves, who deserved severer punishments. It was only for the correction of such vicious slaves, that Columella ordains apartments to be built under ground. So far is he from supposing all the slaves to have been shut up in *ergastula*, and used severely, that, on the contrary, he advises masters to treat their slaves well; to see that their provisions be good; to suit their work to the health and strength of each individual; to take care of them when sick, and apply proper medicines for their cure; to admit them to familiarity; nay, sometimes to bring them to table; to suffer

* I do not find, any where in Livy, what our author has quoted. *Partem Italiæ ergastula a solitudine vindicant.* I suppose the word should be *servitia*, and not *ergastula*.

them even to jest; to applaud such as behaved well, and to reward them.* What can be kinder, or breathe a more gentle spirit? The same humanity is to be observed in Varro; † and both of them consider the practice of breeding from slaves as equally humane and profitable. It is true, as Mr Hume has remarked, ‡ Varro is in this place treating of shepherds only; but from thence it cannot be concluded, that he did not approve of the humane usage of slaves in general, and did not in particular reckon breeding from them profitable in all cases.

As the number of slaves increased prodigiously in the latter times of the commonwealth, the *ergastula* became more common, and greater numbers were confined in them. In the Servile War we find, that Eunus, who, according to Florus, § began the rebellion, raised a great army of slaves, consisting of no less than 60,000 men. One of the methods by which he accomplished this, was by breaking open the *ergastula* in Sicily, and giving freedom to the slaves that were confined in them. His army however could not be entirely, probably the smallest part of it, made up of such slaves as had been shut up in

* De re rustic. lib. 1. cap. 6, 7, 8, 9.

† De re rustic. lib. 1. cap. 17. lib. 2. cap. 10.

‡ P. 177.

§ "Hoc miraculum primum duo millia ex obviis; mox jure belli, refractis ergastulis, sexaginta amplius millium fecit exercitum."

Florus, lib. 3. cap. 19.

ergastula ; it must have consisted of slaves of all kinds, who would crowd to him from all quarters, and abandon their masters, on an occasion which called them to liberty. Nor could 60,000 (though his army had consisted of none but such as had been confined in *ergastula*) have been near equal to the whole number of slaves in the south of Italy and Sicily. The *ergastula* therefore must only have been houses of correction for the worst sort of slaves.

The power which Roman masters had over their slaves was despotic, and may appear frightful ; but the exercise of it was commonly very gentle, and the power itself was not more absolute, than that which fathers had over their children. For, by the old Roman law, the *pater familias* had an equally unlimited authority not only over his children, but, in some cases, over his wife ; * yet there is no reason from hence to conclude, that this institution was prejudicial to the populousness of Rome. In the virtuous times of the commonwealth the power was seldom abused ; and, if, in corrupted times, masters became more severe, laws were enacted to restrain their severity ; at least, the emperors, not long after the establishment of the monarchy, began to look more narrowly into the behaviour of masters in their families, and to punish outrages committed by them

* See *Heineccii syntagma antiquitatum*, under the titles, *de patria potestate, et de nuptiis*.

on their slaves. * The emperor Hadrian banished a lady for her severity to her servants. It was a particular instruction given to the *præfectus urbi* (or the criminal judge) who had also the care of the police of the city of Rome in most articles, to hear and redress the complaints of servants against their masters. † The temples and the statues of the prince were places of refuge for slaves, from whence they could not be taken away by their masters. ‡ By a rescript of Antoninus Pius, § it was ordained, that such servants should be sold as had been ill treated. And whoever will examine the history of the Roman law, will find in general, that the emperors aimed continually at lessening that domestic power which the antient Roman citizens had been authorised to exercise in their families, till every thing was brought under the absolute power of the prince. Thus, even among the Romans themselves, the despotic power over slaves was restrained, after it was found to be dangerous.

Further, not only does it appear, that laws were made to restrain the Romans from treating their slaves cruelly; but we have many documents even in latter times, that where the law did not regulate their conduct, they set bounds to it themselves, and often from affection treated their slaves

* Vid. l. 2. D. "de his qui sui vel alieni juris sunt."

† Vid. l. 1. § 1. 8. D. "de officio præfecti urbi."

‡ Vid. § 2. "inst. de his qui sui vel alieni juris sunt."

|| Vid. l. 2. D. "eodem."

with great humanity. Thus we find, that they gave them the best education, and taught them arts and sciences; nor is there any branch of learning, in which we do not find, that slaves were eminently skilled. Besides, their masters frequently manumitted them, and at that time they often got their *peculium*, by which means they had an opportunity of acquiring large estates. Nay, such was the affection of the Romans to their domestics, that they considered their *liberti* as part of their family, and hence were obliged to aliment them in their poverty; which, if they neglected to do, they forfeited their *jus patronatûs*. They often ordered their remains to be deposited in the family sepulchre; and, after communicating this right of burial, they frequently subjoined a clause to the monumental inscription, *Ne de familia creat*. If the patron had no children, he often left his whole estate to his *liberti*, and generally gave them legacies, whoever got the bulk of the estate.

Besides the domestic slaves, the Romans had another kind, called *inquilini, coloni, et adscriptitii glebæ*, who were upon a surer footing, being only bound to certain annual prestations, and to labour their master's lands; from which he could not remove them, nor raise their rents. Are these indications of an inhumanity, which could have any effect in preventing populousness?

Indeed interest, no less than humanity, must have prompted the Romans at all times to encourage their slaves to raise families.

With respect to all commodities whatsoever, it is commonly more advantageous to raise them up than to buy them. That this holds with respect to slaves, is evident, from its having been thought profitable in Italy, even in times of the highest luxury. Columella, who lived at such a time, advises to breed from slaves; nay, to give rewards, and even to give liberty to such females, as were mothers of more than three children.*

Pomponius Atticus, a man of the greatest œconomy among the Romans, had no slaves, but such as were born in his own house. This is observed by his historian, as a mark of his good œconomy; † he must therefore have thought it more profitable to breed than to buy. The same historian hath remarked, that the custom of buying slaves proceeded from an incontinent and luxurious taste. We cannot therefore infer with Mr Hume, ‡ that

* “Fœminis quoque fœcundioribus otium nonnunquam et libertatem dedimus, cum complures natos educassent: nam cui tres erant filii, vacatio: cui plures, libertas quoque contingebat. Hæc enim justitia, et cura patris familias multum confert augendo patrimonio.”

De re rustic. lib. 1. cap. 8.

† “Pari modo, artifices cæteri, quos cultus domesticus desiderat, apprime boni; neque tamen horum quenquam, nisi domi natum, domique factum habuit: quod est signum non solum continentiae, sed etiam diligentiae. Nam et non intemperanter concupiscere, quod a plurimis videas, continentis debet duci; et potius diligentia, quam pretio, parare, non mediocris est industriae.”

Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici. cap. 13.

‡ P. 170.

because Atticus is praised for his diligence in breeding, breeding was not the general practice. These praises only shew, that many of Atticus's rank acted in a different manner from him, and that he was not seduced by their example.

Mr Hume has remarked, that near all great cities, in all populous, rich, industrious provinces, few cattle are bred, because of the dearth of every commodity in such places; and of course, that the remoter and cheaper are the only breeding countries for cattle; and, by parity of reason, for men too.* This only shews, that such great numbers of slaves would not be bred in or near large cities, as in cheaper provinces; but it does not prove, that many were not bred, even in Rome itself, many more in other places of Italy, or in other provinces, where provisions were cheaper; it does not at all affect small cities, or places where there was little luxury; it does not affect the more antient and simple ages; nay, it makes very little against the breeding of slaves even in Rome itself; for the Romans in times of their greatest luxury had little reason to discourage this practice, on account of the dearth of provisions, since, according to the Dissertation, the most necessary provisions were easily purchased at Rome, when luxury was very high. I grant, that the luxury of Rome was one of the chief causes, why Italy became less populous, not in-

deed because it rendered the breeding from slaves unprofitable, but on account of growing delicacy and debauchery of manners; in consequence of which, not only the former general practice of marrying, but the love of agriculture declined. And from the bitter reproaches which Augustus cast upon the great men of Rome for not marrying, it may be justly presumed, that marriage was less common among freemen than slaves; nor is it improbable, that while the masters gave full swing to their appetites, they would not suffer their slaves to commit the same disorders.

Notwithstanding what has been observed concerning the advantages which arose commonly from the breeding of slaves, it doth not follow, that it was in no case profitable to buy. On many occasions masters would find buying both necessary and advantageous; which may account for what Mr Hume observes concerning the practice of the elder Cato, * who, though a very great economist, is said † to have bought a great many slaves; for he bought them at the sales of prisoners of war, when they would certainly be cheapest, both because they had been most easily purchased, and would be most numerous. No wonder that a man of his frugality caught at such a cheap market. But there is no where the smallest hint, that he did not encourage his slaves to breed; the con-

* P. 172.

† Plutarch. in Cato. maj.

trary may be inferred from what Plutarch tells, that he allowed a commerce between his male and female slaves. If he allowed it only at certain times, and upon certain conditions, this might arise from the austerity of his temper, and the severity of his manners; if he obliged them to pay for the liberty of commerce, this proceeded from too great a love of gain, which made a remarkable part of his character, and prompted him to seek profit in every thing. But from neither of these circumstances can it be inferred, that he did not intend to multiply his slaves by this intercourse; nay, his very covetousness is an argument, that he would design to increase his riches by their breed; and in order to render their breeding more convenient and advantageous, it would be necessary to forbid all irregular amours, according to Plutarch's narration, and to suffer their commerce only at certain times, that the children might fall to be born at those seasons of the year, when the labour of the mothers would be least necessary.

Neither would those other restrictions mentioned by Mr Hume, prevent slaves from breeding; for it is surely of little consequence to this effect, whether they were lodged under the same roof with the master * (as they might very well have been, if they were not too numerous) or in separate apartments; whether the male and female slaves were laid at a distance from one another

* Political Discourses, p. 174.

or not ; * whether they lived on board-wages, † or, which is more probable, had their stated allowance of provisions, as is common in many houses at present.

In like manner, it may be justly supposed, that the masters, from a regard to their own interest, would bear with many inconveniences arising from the breeding of their slaves ; which accounts easily for the precept of old Hesiod, whom our author quotes ‡ to prove, that, in the opinion of the antients, married slaves were inconvenient. Some of the antients no doubt might be of this opinion ; some people will gratify their inclination, in opposition to their interest ; humour, fancy, caprice, a just regard to elegance, and a false taste of refinement, have a mighty influence on all the affairs of mankind. Hence some of the antients might have chosen rather to buy at a dearer rate, and to want the profits arising from the breeding of their slaves, than submit to the trouble which attended it. This might have been the character of Hesiod. Poets often seek pleasure more than riches ; but we must not make them a standard for the world. Indeed the passage from Hesiod proves not, either that the breeding of slaves was generally reckoned disagreeable or inconvenient in his days ; or, though it had been so, that mankind would not have generally submitted to it,

* Ibid. p. 175. † Ibid.

‡ P. 174. Hesiod. oper. et dier. lib. 2. lin. 23, 24, 220, 221.

for the sake of their interest. Perhaps, too, Hesiod meant only to caution against buying married slaves, and to advise to buy unmarried ones, who might afterwards have been suffered to breed or not, as best answered the master's conveniency, or suited his humour.

We have said, that regard to interest would have a principal influence on masters, and that their management of their slaves would be chiefly governed by it; from whence it is necessary to conclude, that every one who had occasion for slaves, would buy or keep in his family, either males or females, according to the nature of the work in which he proposed to employ them, and according to his views of profit; and that he would keep neither males nor females he had no use for. On which account we need not wonder,* that among the slaves left by Demosthenes's father, who was a sword-maker, there should be mention of none but handicraftsmen, *sword-cutlers* and *cabinet-makers*, as our author translates the word Κλινοποιοι, all males, except some chambermaids, who had been about his wife. What else could be expected from a man of such an occupation, who wanted only handicraftsmen for carrying on his business? By the same manner of reasoning it appears, that we ought not to infer, that the ancient slaves did not breed, because Cato, when enumerating the slaves requisite to

* Polit. discours. p. 171.

labour a vineyard or plantation of olives, makes mention only of one female, *viz.* the overseer's wife.* The reason is plain. Male-slaves, being more robust, were fitter for country-labour, and there would be occasion only for a woman or two, to do any of those offices, for which women were more proper.

Besides, it deserves to be remarked, agreeably to what has been said in the Dissertation, that the ancient world being chiefly employed in agriculture and other laborious arts, for which men were more proper than women, it may be expected, we should find many more male slaves than female; in consequence of which, many of the males might have wanted wives, and yet all the females have been breeders.

Neither would the masters be deterred from breeding slaves at home, because of those privileges and indulgencies to which the *Vernæ* seem to have been entitled by custom; for besides the honesty, fidelity and attachment to the family, which might be expected from those who had been born and bred in it, the inconveniency of their pertness, if it really was thought one, might have been overbalanced by other advantages. But in truth our author † seems to have been mistaken in his conjecture on this article; for slaves

* Polit. Discours. p. 175.

† P. 169, 170.

were commonly more valued and esteemed on account of their pertness. †

† This seems plain from many other, as well as the following passages. *Horatii. Sat. L. 2. S. 6. L. 65, 66, 67.*

“Eadem causa est cur nos mancipiorum nostrorum urbanitas, in dominos contumeliosa, delectet: quorum audacia ita demum sibi in convivas jus facit, si coepit a domino.---Pueros quidem in hoc mercantur procaces, et eorum impudentiam acuunt, et sub magistro habent, qui probra meditate effundant: nec has contumelias vocamus, sed argutias.”

Seneca de constant. sapient. cap. 11.

“Cogita filiorum nos modestia delectari, Vernularum licentia: illos disciplina tristiori contineri, horum ali audaciam.”

Seneca de provid. cap. 1.

Faber observes on the word *vernilitas*, that it signified a particular kind of *urbanitas*.—“Urbanitas sed affectata, neque ingenua et liberalis.” In confirmation of which he quotes Pliny, Seneca, Quintilian and Petronius. He adds, “Amabatur ista servulorum urbanitas sive dicacitas procax; et quærebantur tales vel ex longinquis regionibus, ut *Ægyptii, Mauri, Syri*. Quod si non essent dicaces satis, ut docerentur et discerent esse, navabant operam heri.” It appears from Suetonius (*in August. cap. 83.*) that the Mauri and Syri had a great reputation for this garrulity. “Ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabiles undique conquiebat, præcipue Mauros et Syros.” Those of Alexandria were also in high reputation for this quality; which explains the phrase “convicia Nili” in the *Sylvæ* of Statius, Lib. 5. 5. 66.

“Non ego mercatus Pharia de puppe loquaces
Delicias, doctumque sui convicia Nili
Infantem, linguaque simul salibusque protervum.”

The following passage in Quintilian (*Instit. Orat. lib. 1. cap. 2.*) is a further proof, that slaves were in general not less esteemed, though they were pert and forward. “Gaudemus (inquit) si quid

Our author has also recourse to the Roman law, to prove, that breeding from slaves was not common among the Romans; for he observes,* that it is expressly remarked by the writers of the Roman law, that scarce any ever purchase slaves, with a view of breeding from them; and, in the note which he has placed at the bottom of the same page, he is pleased to cite the words of some laws from the *corpus juris*; none of which seem to confirm his hypothesis, or indeed to prove what he would deduce from them.

The first text he quotes is from *l. 27. ff. de hereditatis petitione. Ancillarum etiam partus, et partuum partus, quanquam fructus esse non existimantur, quia non temere ancillæ ejus rei causa comparantur, ut pariant, augent tamen hereditatem.* In order to understand this law, it is necessary in the first place to remark, that, among the Romans, the *ususfructus* was a kind of personal servitude, or liferent-right of use and enjoyment, by which a certain person, called the *usufructuarius*, different from the proprietor, had right to all the fruits and emoluments of whatever kind, that arose or-

licentius dixerint (viz. liberi nostri.) Verba ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis, risu et osculo excipimus.”

Justus Lipsius explains the word *vernuliter* in Seneca, (*de benefic. lib. 2. cap. 11.*) “Blande et cum adulatione, vox (inquit) a vernis, id est, servulis, qui fere blandiuntur;” which shews that the behaviour of the Vernæ was not disagreeably impudent, but rather flattering, to make their court the better, and render themselves more agreeable.

* Page 173.

dinarily from the *fructuarius* substance ; whether these emoluments served only for supplying the mere necessities and wants, or increased the convenience and pleasure of life. For all such emoluments were comprehended under the term *fructus* ; provided after production the substance of the fructuarius body remained entire. Thus the fruits of land were grass, corn, wine, oil, &c. those of houses were either the actual lodging in them, or their rent, if hired out to others ; of ships, the sailing in them, or the freight ; and of cattle, their brood, their milk, and their wool. To the full and unlimited use and enjoyment of all these emoluments the *fructuarius* had right, according as his *ususfructus* was either of land, of houses, of ships, or of cattle. In the same manner, he who had an *ususfructus* of a slave, had full right to all the fruits and emoluments to be drawn from this slave. These, according to civilians, were the profits of his labour and industry, acquired either by setting him to work at home, or hiring him out for certain wages to the service of another. *In hominis usufructu operæ sunt, et ob operas mercedos. Fructus hominis in operis constitit et retro, in fructu hominis operæ sunt : * i. e.* the principal, the most considerable fruits of a man consist in his work, labour, industry and pains : and these, on the other hand, are included in *fructu* or *usufructu*.

* L. 3. 4. ff. de operis servorum.

To these, therefore, the *usufructuarius* had undoubted right.

But, besides these *operæ* and *mercedes ob operas*, there were likewise the *partus ancillarum*; concerning which it was disputed among the civilians of old, whether the *partus ancillarum*, or the issue of a female slave, belonged to the *usufructuarius*, i.e. the liferenter of the mother, in the same manner as the *fætus pecorum* belonged to the *usufructuarius pecorum*.

The question was determined in the negative: and for this determination Ulpian in different places of his writings assigns different reasons. In *l. 68. ff. de usufructu*, he says, *Neque enim in fructu hominis homo esse potest*. The meaning of which is, that nature having produced all kinds of fruits for the use of man, man himself therefore could not make a part of these fruits, since he had a right to enjoy them. And thus we find this reason explained in *l. 28. § 1. ff. de usuris*. *Absurdum enim videbatur, hominem in fructu esse, cum omnes fructus rerum natura hominum gratiâ comparaverit*. This philosophy of the lawyers seems to be founded on the doctrine of the Stoics, who taught, that every thing in nature was produced for the use of man. *Omnia, quæ sint in hoc mundo, quibus utantur homines, hominum causa facta esse et parata*.* For from this sect the Roman lawyers borrowed most of their philosophical principles.

* Cicero, lib. 2. c. 61, de nat. deor.

Another reason for the same determination is assigned by Ulpian in *l. 27. ff. de hereditatis petitione*, quoted by Mr Hume. *Quia non temere ancillae ejus rei causa comparantur, ut pariant, i. e.* the issue of female slaves is not comprehended under, or reckoned among their fruits, because maids are not purchased principally for breeding. The chief design in buying or having them, is to set them at work, and by their work to make gain. The immediate view therefore with which slaves are purchased, is that they may labour, not that they may breed. Hence the profits of their labour belong to the *usufructuarius*, but not their brood.

Yet it would surely be absurd from hence to conclude, that masters might not have other views in purchasing female slaves, besides those which were most immediate. It would be yet more absurd to say, that those who had actually purchased them, at first perhaps with other views, would not, if they found it convenient, allow them to breed. It is common now a-days to hire servants for certain definite purposes; yet, if they have time, they are usually put to other business. Besides, it deserves to be remarked, how cautiously Ulpian speaks: he says, *non temere*. Now, the idea which the word *temere* conveys at first, is that of rashness. And if the law might be understood in this way, it is surely true, that men, far from being rash, would be extremely cautious and circumspect, when they purchased slaves for

breeding; and from hence it not only would not follow, that slaves were never purchased in this view, but the directly contrary would appear.

However, Ulpian's words can hardly bear this interpretation. His *non temere* must be understood, as if he had said, that men are very cautious, how they buy slaves for breeding; or, which is the same thing, that for the most part they do not; for he by no means says, that they never do purchase them in this view. In short, Ulpian can only intend to declare, that the principal, chief, and immediate view in purchasing female slaves was not to breed from them. This is very agreeable to the decisions of the lawyers concerning the *ususfructus* and *partus ancillarum*, and makes it a very strong reason, as in this respect there is a wide difference between men and other animals. For men often buy horses, mares, bulls, cows, and all sorts of cattle, merely and principally for the sake of a breed; but seldom or never purchase slaves on the same design. For though sometimes maids might be purchased for their beauty; yet, as the good qualities, either of mind or body, do not so constantly descend to the posterity of mankind, as those of brutes descend to their brood, a fine breed could seldom be the principal view in the purchase of slaves.

But that it ought not to be concluded, from either this, or any other law of the Corpus, that it was not usual among the Romans to breed from female slaves; nay, that it was not only not

unusual, but very common to do so, appears from the numberless places of it, in which the *partus ancillarum* are mentioned; from the many and various cases stated about them; and from the multitude of the questions proposed, and decisions given about their property in those different cases. Had not disputes been daily occurring of this kind, is it probable that the Corpus would have been replenished with such decisions? And could disputes of this kind have daily occurred, unless both the *ancillæ* and the *partus ancillarum* had been very numerous? To cite particular passages would be endless. Almost every page contains some case, some example, or some determination about them; nay, Ulpian treating of what could be exacted by the rightful and true heir from him, who without any just title had seized on the inheritance, in this very *l. 27. ff. de hered. pet.* determines, that among other things, the *partus ancillarum* ought to be restored.

Besides, the *serviles cognationes*, the *serviles adfinitates*, and the *contubernia servorum*, are often mentioned expressly in the Corpus. Regulations are made, rules laid down, and questions determined, as well about this *contubernium*, as about the lawful marriage of free citizens. And if it is an universal observation, which we may form upon language,* that where two related parts of a whole bear any proportion to each other, in numbers, rank, or consideration, there

* Polit. discours. p. 169.

are always correlative terms invented, which answer to both the parts, and express their mutual relation; as we have here a whole, and its two related parts, and correlative terms invented, which answer to both these parts, and express their mutual relation; I must, according to Mr Hume's ingenious doctrine, infer, that since the *contubernia servorum* bore no proportion to the *nuptiæ* or *connubia* of free Roman citizens, in rank or consideration, they must have borne a great proportion to each other in number; and from hence, that the issue of these *contubernia*, or the *Vernæ* were very numerous: for *contubernium* was as constantly said of slaves, as *nuptiæ* and *connubium* of free Roman citizens. *

Further, this reason cannot shew, that the Romans used not to purchase slaves to breed from them, at the time to which the greatest populousness of ancient nations is fixed in the Dissertation: for Ulpian, who assigns it, lived about the

* To say the truth, however ingenious such criticisms may be esteemed, fortune and chance seem to have had great influence on the formation and structure of language;—reason, philosophy, and the real similitudes and distinctions of things too little. The term *Verna* might have been invented, because, being more numerous, there were more frequent occasions to speak of the *Vernæ* than of the *empti*. After all, may not *emptus* be supposed the correlative to *Verna*? at least we find them opposed in the law: (§ 30. *instit. de legatis*) and I am mistaken, if the phrase, *Non verna sed emptus*, is not to be found somewhere in an ancient author.

In ancient times, and in modern too, missile weapons bore a great proportion to the other instruments used in war, but have no correlative opposed to them.

beginning of the third century ; under the emperors Septimius Severus, Antoninus Caracalla, Opilius Macrinus and Diadumenus, Alagabalus, and Alexander Severus, the last of whom was principally directed by his advice, and governed by his counsels, long after the establishment of that empire, which seems to have been one principal cause of the depopulation of Europe.

To understand how the other texts of the civil law, quoted by Mr Hume, from the title *de Ædilitio edicto*, do not make much for his argument ; it is necessary to observe, that the *Aediles*, who, among other things, had jurisdiction over the public markets, and the goods sold in them, published an edict, by which they ordered those who sold slaves, to tell the buyers, *Quid morbi vitiiue cuique sit*. And if either they did not do so, or the slave was found to have faults, which the merchant had concealed, the *Aediles* by this edict ordered the seller to receive back his slave, and restore the price to the buyer. It was therefore necessary to understand, what was meant by *morbus vitiumve*, in order to know in what cases the purchaser could return the slave, and force the merchant to restore the price. Now, in *l. 1. § 7. ff. de Aedilitio edicto*, we find a general definition of the word *morbus* : *Est habitus cujusque corporis contra naturam, qui usum ejus ad id facit deteriorem, cujus causa natura nobis ejus corporis sanitatem dedit*. And in the same place we are told, that *morbus* and *vitium* have not, in this title, a different, but the same signification. In *l. 1. § 8. eod.* this general doctrine is applied

to slaves in particular; and we are informed by the lawyer, that every thing is reckoned *morbus* or *vitium*, *quod usum ministeriumque hominis impedit*. In short it appears, that *morbus* was called and reckoned whatever defect, either of body or of mind, hindered the slave from being useful, and from performing the service for which he was designed by nature.

From whence we conclude, that those bodily defects, alone; are here understood, which could, and therefore ought to have been known to the seller, and, at the same time, disabled the slave either from working, or from propagating his kind. Hence we need not be surprised, that *spado*, in *l. 6. § 2. de Aedil. edict.* is said to be neither *morbosus* nor *vitiosus*. For though *spado*, as evidently appears from *l. 128. ff. de verborum significatione*, is a general term, used sometimes to denote all such as are incapable of generation, from whatever cause this inability proceeds, whether from nature, accident, or design; yet in this place it is taken in a more limited sense, and signifies one, who, either by disease, old age, natural infirmity, or from a wrong conformation of parts, is incapable of procreation. Such men may often be healthy, and strong enough in other respects, and very fit for labour. Hence the buyer could not, on pretence of the impotence of a slave of this sort, force the seller to receive him back, and to restore the price; because if the slave looked well otherwise, the seller might well be supposed to be ignorant of this imperfection; because in some

cases the buyer himself might be presumed not to be ignorant of it, as in that of old age, which he might easily be supposed already to know to be *effoeta*; because, at the same time the slave often was not by such an imperfection rendered less able to labour, which was his principal business; and, lastly, because the infirmity might be removed, either by an unexpected recovery of vigour, or by diet and medicine. *

But in *l. 7. eod.* we find that slave reckoned *morbosus*, who by mutilation had been made incapable of generation. For it was both the intention of nature, and of the purchaser, if he found it convenient, that slaves should propagate. Hence, however healthy and robust he might be in other respects, and however fit for working, such a slave might be returned as *morbosus*; for he laboured under a bodily defect, which, at the same time that it might, and ought to have been known to the seller, rendered the slave incapable of performing that service for which he was designed by nature, viz. of propagating his kind. Does this shew, that the Romans had little or no view of breeding from their slaves? or can it be from hence inferred, that the Roman lawyers inculcate any such doctrine? that the impotence of a slave was only regarded so far as his health or life might be affected by it; and that in other

* A notable instance of this kind, very apposite to the present argument, may be seen in the *Medic. Essays*, vol. 1. art. 36.

respects he was full as valuable? it was much otherwise. For though, as it has been said already, the principal view in purchasing slaves, was to set them at work; yet to breed from them, was a view so common, that a slave, made by mutilation incapable of procreation, was not only not full as valuable as he would have been, had he not laboured under this defect, but might be returned to the seller, as useless, and of no value. For the word *morbosus*, the misapprehension or misapplication of which seems to have led Mr Hume to quote these texts from the title *de Aedil. edict.* in support of his general position, must, in this title of the *Corpus*, never be understood as solely and immediately relative to health and strength of body, but must always be referred to the redhibition allowed and introduced by this edict. *Morbosus*, as defined above, appears to have a quite different signification among the civilians on this title, from that which it has among physicians. For a slave might happen, in the eye of law, to be reckoned *morbosus*, though perhaps he was not only healthy, but extremely robust.

In general, with regard to male and female slaves, this doctrine is to be held, that, though unable to propagate their kind, they are not in the sense of this title reckoned *morbosi*, unless the defect, from which this inability proceeds, be at least such as may be known to the seller. And from hence we may easily explain every law quoted by Mr Hume.

Thus a woman is not reckoned *morbosa*, because she bears dead children, unless this proceeds from some apparent defect. * Such a woman might, perhaps, by physicians, be reckoned diseased, but, according to civilians, gave no room for redhibition; for she might, notwithstanding, be very healthy and fit for labour; the merchant might well be supposed ignorant of the defect, or at least of its continuance; and the death of her offspring might be occasioned by many accidents, quite foreign to the mother's constitution.

In the same manner, a woman who is barren by nature, is not reckoned *morbosa*: but if her barrenness proceeds from an external defect, or from a visible fault in her body, she is then reckoned *morbosa*. So also we find many particular and extraordinary cases stated in some paragraphs of the fourteenth law of this title, the decisions of which are founded on principles precisely the same with those already explained. † For in most of these cases the faults are visible and apparent, such as the seller either did or ought to have known. Again, it was the unanimous opinion of lawyers, and perhaps it was never doubted, that a woman with child was sound; and the reason assigned is, because it is the greatest and most important office of the sex, considered as such, to conceive and bring children to the full time.

* L. 14. p. ff. de *Ædil. edict.*

† L. 14. § 1, 2, 3, 7. l. 15. ff. de *Ædil. edict.*

For, besides the usual recovery of vigour after child-birth, women in this situation are employed in one of those services, for which they were designed by nature; and by consequence could not, in consistency with the definition of *morbis* given above, be reckoned *morbosa*. They were then busied in what was both at that time, and is still reckoned the chief and most important business of females. It was, besides, a sure indication and strong argument of her soundness, if a woman had that talent which nature had peculiarly allotted to her kind; for those of the sex are usually observed to be most sound and healthy, who bear a great number of children. Does then this prove, that the offspring of women were not considered, when the mothers were purchased? Though it must be confessed, that she was reckoned sound, not on account of the value of her offspring; for what had the value of the offspring to do with the soundness of the mother's constitution? Nay, not only a woman with child, but even a woman in labour, *in ipso actu puerperii*, was reckoned sound; for besides that *accipere aut tueri conceptum* is expressly said to be the *maximum ac præcipuum munus fæminarum*, no man could buy a woman in this situation, and at the same time be ignorant of her condition.

From all these observations, it may be inferred, either that nothing can be deduced from the writings of the Roman lawyers, which tends in the least to support Mr Hume's hypothesis; or

that none of these writings affect the general question ; or perhaps, that they help to destroy the truth of Mr Hume's doctrine, and to support that of the hypothesis laid down in the preceding Dissertation. For surely some of these laws directly prove, that the Romans used to breed from their slaves. This could be further demonstrated from several other texts, which it were easy to quote from this very title, and from many others in the Corpus. One thing I cannot omit, as it is indeed very remarkable, that the *dos*, or dowry given to husbands with their spouses to help them to support the burdens of marriage, consisted usually, if not wholly, at least in a great measure, of slaves ; who, partly by their labour, partly by their brood, sufficiently answered the purpose. Every body knows, that the case is the same at this day in America and the West Indies : and that it was so among the Romans, is evident from the titles *de sponsalibus*, *de ritu nuptiarum*, and the other titles of the 23, 24, and 25 books of the Pandects.

From what has been said hitherto, it appears, that the ancients did not treat their slaves so cruelly, as Mr Hume hath imagined ; and that it was agreeable to their interest and their customs to encourage them to propagate ; in consequence of which it will be found, that as slaves in general were very numerous both among the Greeks and Romans, so the *Vernæ*, or home-born slaves, were far more numerous than such as had been

brought from foreign countries. This will add greatly to the force of all the foregoing arguments.

Nothing is more evident, than that slaves were prodigiously numerous both in Greece and Italy. Almost every family had some : we read of many hundreds, nay thousands, belonging to one man. This great numerousness of slaves is sufficiently proved by many passages of Mr Hume's discourse, where, on the authority of ancient history, he speaks of immense multitudes of them.

If then they were so numerous, methinks this single circumstance must go a great way to prove, that slaves were abundantly prolific. How else could they be so numerous in every period? How can it be supposed that so many thousands, nay millions, were imported from foreign countries? This is an hypothesis almost impossible; however, impossible as it seems to be, it is necessary to maintain it, unless we allow, that the numbers of slaves were chiefly increased by their propagation.

On the other hand, Mr Hume cites the authority of Pliny and Plutarch, * who both take notice, how numerous Barbarian slaves were in Italy; from whence, and from this other circumstance, that the number of people increased not in Italy, † though there was a constant flux of slaves from the remoter provinces of the empire,

* P. 178.

† P. 168.

he would infer, that the Roman slaves, so far from being prolific, could not even keep up the stock, without immense recruits from the provinces.

But this phenomenon may be easily accounted for, by comparing the ancient and latter state of the Romans ; from whence it will be evident, that if the people of Italy did not increase, notwithstanding the great number of Barbarian slaves, this happened only in latter times ; and that this stagnation ought to be derived from a source very different from this, that the slaves did not commonly propagate.

In early times, the city of Rome and the Roman people increased greatly. Their simple and laborious life, their love of agriculture, the frequent transportations of people to Rome from the neighbouring states which they had subdued, occasioned this increase. But in the latter times of the commonwealth, and during the monarchy, agriculture and industry declined greatly, and the luxury and debauchery of the times hindered marriages. Of this Augustus complained heavily, and endeavoured to redress the evil by penal laws ; but all in vain. The evil continued ; nay, grew worse daily. For the corruption of their manners was too great to be curbed by laws. It was from this that the signal decay both of Roman citizens and of slaves proceeded. Recruits were therefore necessary for both, but especially for the latter, who decreased on a double account, both from the general depravity of all ranks,

which could not fail to have some influence on slaves, as well as others; and likewise, as multitudes of them were continually manumitted, to keep up the number of the citizens. This custom of manumitting slaves was little practised in the more early, but came much into use in the latter times, and grew at length into such a grievance, that Augustus found it necessary to redress it, by making particular laws (*Aelia Sentia* and *Fusia Caninia*) to regulate the numbers, qualifications, and rights of those who were manumitted.*

This is not only the natural, but the genuine account why such large recruits for keeping up the stock of slaves came to be necessary, and were actually imported from the provinces. But, however necessary they might be, the bad consequences of such importations would be visible: this would give occasion of complaint to some, others would give directions how to prevent the bad effects in particular cases. Hence we find Pliny complaining of the *mancipiorum legiones, et in domo turba externa*; † and Plutarch, observing, that in the times of the Gracchi, ‡ there was a great want of freemen over all Italy, while it abounded with prisons for Barbarian slaves. It is hence also that we find Varro giving it as an useful advice for a family, not to buy too many

* Vide Heineccii syntagma antiq. l. 1. t. 5, 6, 7.

† Polit. discours. p. 176.

‡ In Tib. Gracch.

slaves of the same nation.* But none of these testimonies prove, that the greatest number of the slaves was born out of Italy, even in those degenerate times ; on the contrary, we have the express testimony of Appian to prove, that the custom of purchasing Barbarians, was not the chief cause of the increase of slaves, but that they had multiplied prodigiously by propagation, as they were totally exempted from military service, † while the number of the freemen had been greatly diminished, both by the direful effects of war, and by that oppression which the rich exercised over the poor, whom they deprived of their lands, and forced from their possessions and habitations.

As our author has not proved, that the greatest part of the Roman slaves were imported from foreign countries ; so neither does he seem to have succeeded any better in his remarks on the Greeks. The names given to slaves in the Greek comedies, Syrus, Mysus, Geta, &c., ‡ will not afford a presumption, that at Athens, or other Greek cities, most of the slaves were imported from foreign nations ; for many of the names of the slaves in the Greek plays are not of this kind : and though all of them were, how much does chance govern in such matters ? It is very probable, I own, that many of the Greek slaves had

* Polit. Discours. p. 176.

† Ἐκ πολυπαίδας θερᾶποντῶν ἀκινδυνῶς αὐξομενῶν διὰ τὰς ἀσφατείας.

Appian de bell. civ. lib. 1.

‡ P. 170.

been originally of Barbarian extraction; for doubtless the Greeks would rather have made slaves of the Barbarians, than of their own countrymen; and those who came first into Greece, might perhaps be named from the countries from which they had been imported: but as probably they would transmit the same sort of names to their posterity, though born in Greece, we cannot conclude, that because a slave has such or such a name, himself was a native of this or that country.

Upon the whole matter, I apprehend, that we should not do well to conclude, that the names commonly given to the personages introduced into our dramatic performances, were the most common at the times when these pieces were composed. We might as well say, that Stichus was the most common name of a slave, or Titius of a freeman, because the Roman lawyers, in putting cases, and in illustrating their doctrines by examples, commonly make use of these two names.

Neither does it appear from the authority of any ancient writer, that all the Greek slaves were Barbarians. In particular this cannot be deduced from any passage in Demosthenes; nor can I find it asserted in any passage of Isocrates's Panegyric, which Mr Hume hath quoted to prove it.*

What has been said above, seems sufficient to invalidate any objections which may be started

* Polit. discours. p. 171.

against our hypothesis, that in ancient times slaves were generally allowed to propagate. But besides, strong positive evidence may be brought to prove their fertility, and of course, that the *vernæ* were extremely numerous.

In this view it deserves to be remarked, that, among those ancient monumental inscriptions which have been preserved, vast numbers are found to be inscribed * by slaves to the memory of their fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, and children. Now we may be sure, that not one of many hundreds who had such relations, were at the trouble and expence of testifying their affection in that manner; and that there is not one of many thousands of those monuments which were erected for this purpose that have been preserved unto our times. This naturally leads us to conclude, that the marriages of the slaves were common: how else could there have been so many inscriptions of this kind?

A much stronger argument may be brought for the actual fertility of the slaves, and the vast numbers of *Vernæ*, from the absurdity of supposing such an incredible number of them, as we find both in Italy and Greece, or the greatest part of them to have been purchased for money, or imported from foreign countries. Whence could such vast sums have been raised? Some of

* See the collections of Gruterus, Reinesius, Fabretti, and Muratorius.

the Romans are said to have had 10,000; nay, some of them to have had 20,000 slaves.* At any rate there must have been several millions in Italy. Let us make a computation. It is observed of Cato the censor, † as an instance of his frugality, that he would never give above 1500 drachmæ, or about 48l. for a slave. This could not have been among the highest, it must rather have been among the lowest prices. But even at this rate one million of slaves would have cost the Romans in Italy more than 48 millions sterling, and the importers from foreign countries half as much, allowing them even *cent. per cent.* of profit. In the same manner, reckoning half of the 400,000 Athenian slaves to be of full age, and each of them to be worth two *minæ* ‡, which is the least value Demosthenes puts upon his father's slaves, they would have cost more than 1,200,000l. Is there any reason to think, that a trade was carried on in ancient times to an extent proportionable to so vast an importation? besides, what bad policy must it have been, to have encouraged the buying, and discouraged the breeding of

* Athen. Deipn. lib. 6, cap. 28. Seneca says of Demetrius, who had been made free by Pompey, "Numerus illi quotidie, servorum, velut imperatori exercitus, referebatur."

De tranquillitate, cap. 8.

† Plutarch. in Cat. maj.

‡ Some of them were worth five or six *minæ*, thirty of them were not under three.

Orat. in Aphobum. 1.

slaves? The antients were sensible of this, and therefore encouraged breeding.

Hence Tibullus, when wishing for whatever was best for a husbandman, prays that his farm may be stocked with a crowd of vernæ, the surest sign of wealth and plenty.

*Turbaque vernarum, saturi bona signa coloni,
Ludet, et ex virgīs extruet arte casas.*

Tib. Eleg. lib. 2. Eleg. 1. lin. 23, 24.

Horace represents them as numerous about the houses of rich men, as bees about a hive.

*Positosque vernas, diti's examen domus,
Circum renidentes lares.*

Horat. Epod. 2. lin. 65, 66.

Sacred writ takes notice, that Abraham* armed 318 trained servants, born in his own house, † to fight against Chedorlaomer, and some other princes, who had plundered Sodom, and carried Lot captive. This number of 318 comprehended only the males of full age, whom Abraham thought fit to carry along with him in this expedition. Perhaps he had others besides, whom he left at home: at any rate, he must have had many females and young children unfit for

* Gen. xiv. 14.

† Expeditos vernaculos suos edit. vulg.

war. All which shows how numerous the vernæ were in the east, in the most ancient times, and how careful the ancients were to encourage the breeding of their slaves.

But if the institution of slavery tended so much to the populousness of ancient nations, it may be asked, whence is it that it does so little service at present? Are Turkey,* and other countries, where slavery now prevails, so extremely populous? on the contrary, are they not almost quite void of people, and striking examples of the pernicious influence of slavery? Are not such examples, which are immediately before our eyes, chiefly to be regarded? And when we behold such glaring instances of desolation in countries where slavery obtains at present, why should we imagine this institution must have had such a prolific influence in ancient times?

On this it is only necessary to observe, how easy it is to account, from other principles, for the scarcity of people in Turkey, and other countries where slavery obtains at present. Modern slavery seems to be on a much worse footing than the ancient. In particular, slavery in Turkey, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Morocco, and other African countries, is both very severe, and under bad regulations: if we add to this the oppression and bad policy of these governments in other respects, can we be surprised at their want

* Political Discour. p. 179.

of people? How can it be expected that a Turkish policy should not render this vast empire a desert!

To conclude this account of slavery, since our author has referred * to the maxims of our planters; to such as are best acquainted with these maxims, it is referred, if many of the preceding observations are not confirmed by the practice in our American colonies? If the planters are not fonder of purchasing home-bred slaves, though at a dearer price, than of buying directly from Africa? if they do not find them more useful for their work? If discouraging slaves to breed, on account either of dearth of provisions, or any other reason, was almost ever known among them? If, on the contrary, the planters do not encourage the breed of slaves as much as they can, and will not often rather buy a mate, if it be necessary, than want the breed? if they do not find that the slaves who are bred in our plantations are not more healthy, and agree better with the climate than the Europeans? if they are not more prolific, and serve better to increase our colonies? and finally, if the planters, instead of desiring such multitudes of slaves as are poured in upon them from Africa, have not been often deliberating about preventing the importation of African slaves altogether? According to good

* P. 170.

information, all these questions will be answered in the affirmative.*

* As the antient slavery contributed to the populousness of the world, so it was accompanied with several other advantages; and though the Turkish slavery, like all other parts of their policy, is cruel and severe, yet a sight of it seems to have reconciled that able scholar and politician Busbequius to this institution, and brought him over to the opinion, that it was accompanied with greater advantages than disadvantages. He was ambassador from the emperor of Germany to Solyman about 200 years ago, when the Turkish empire was in a very flourishing condition; he was also a curious and accurate observer, much above the ordinary rate of travellers, and had better opportunities of knowing the true state of Turkey than others. I have therefore subjoined his words.

“Cæteroqui qui apud nos mendicant, apud eos serviunt: captum usu membrorum servum nihilominus herus alit, nec est ita debilitatus quisquam, quin operæ ejus aliquod sit pretium. Memini me redimere non ignobilem militem Hispanum, qui ordines apud suos duxerat: quem cum membris omnibus ex vulneribus debilitatum Turca emisset, rationem tamen iniit, quomodo fructum ex eo caperet: trajecit eum in Asiam, ubi anserum greges aluntur, quibus pascendis operas ejus locabat, ex quo non contemnendum lucellum faciebat. Ac nescio an optime rebus nostris consuluit, qui servitutem primus sustulit. Scio servitii varia esse incommoda, sed ea commodorum pondere sublevantur. Si justa et clemens et qualem Romanæ leges præscribunt, servitus, præsertim publica, maneret; non tot fortasse crucibus, neque tot patibulis opus esset ad coercendos, quibus præter vitam et libertatem nihil est, quos egestas ad quodvis audendum scelus impellit. Libertas sine re non semper suadet honesta: non omnium ingenia inopem ferunt libertatem: nec omnes ita nati sunt, ut se regere et suo arbitrio recte uti sciant; melioris ductu atque imperio tanquam adminiculo opus habent, nullum alioqui peccandi finem facturi, ut sunt quædam bestię, quarum ferocitas semper metuenda sit, nisi vinculis aut robore coerçantur. Hic quidem mens imbecillior aucto-

ritate herili gubernatur; herus servi labore vivit. Turcæ, maxima, qua publice, qua privatim, e servitio emolumenta capiunt; rem familiarem servorum operis præclare tuentur; ideoque proverbio negant eum pauperem videri cui vel unicus servus sit. Sed et publice siquid moliendum, transferendum, eruderandum, aut minuendum sit, id servorum opera et assiduitate consequuntur. Nos operum antiquorum magnificentiam nusquam assequimur, quid enim? manibus destituimur, hoc est servili auxilio: ut taceam, quantum instrumentum servorum, doctrina et literæ fuerint veteribus ad omnem scientiam adipiscendam. Sed tu hæc animi causa dici a me puta. Turcicæ quidem militiæ fructus haud aliunde magis constat quam ex servis. Si miles Turca nihil aliud reportet e bello quam unum aut alterum mancipium, bene rem suam gessit, tulit laborum præmium. Nam vulgare mancipium quadraginta aut quinquaginta coronatis æstimatur; quod si ætatis aut formæ aut opificii accessione commendetur, duplicatur pretium: ex quo satis liquere arbitror, quantum compendium faciant cum undecunque quinque aut sex captivorum millia abducunt, quamque quæstuosæ sint illorum deprædationes. Nec Romanos olim hoc lucrum sprevisse adverto, cum sectiones urbium universas viginti quinque aut triginta millium capitum distraherent et publicarent, ut eorum scripta testantur. Turcæ quidem ex tali sectione plus minus decies quinquies centena coronatorum millia redigerent. Quanquam illi quidem a suæ religionis hominibus jure belli abstinent, ab omni capitis diminutione habent immunes.

“A. Gisleni Busbequii omnia quæ extant.” *Lugd. 1633. Epist.*
3. p. 160.

PART II.

SECTION I.

Hitherto of slavery, or the domestic economy of the ancients. It will be necessary in the next place to inquire into their political situation ; and first, to consider the maxims of their government in time both of peace and war ; of which our author hath drawn as frightful a picture, as he had done before of the cruelty exercised towards slaves.

Mr Hume hath indeed admitted, that the equality of fortune which obtained among the ancients, the small divisions of their states, and their love of liberty, were circumstances favourable to populousness.* But nothing can be imagined more unfavourable than the rest of their political maxims, as they are represented in the Political Discourse.

According to our author, the ancient republics were almost in perpetual war ; the maxims of ancient were more destructive than those of modern

* P. 210, 183, 184.

war, and battles were much more bloody and desperate in ancient than in modern times; the maxims of the ancients in time of peace were also more tyrannical, their factions keener and more inveterate, the fines they imposed more arbitrary and exorbitant, and their political institutions in general not so well calculated to preserve order and stability, as in modern times. For each of these particulars he hath offered his reasons: and upon the whole, he is not only inclined to believe, that modern policy is more favourable to populousness than that of the ancient, but entertains such an opinion of ancient policy, as to affirm, that the police and government of the Turks, though he owns it to be not very favourable to industry and propagation, is preferable to that barbarous unsettled condition in which the Thracians, the Getes, and the Illyrians anciently lived.*

One would not perhaps wonder, that these and other barbarous nations; nay, that some of the Greek tyrannies should be drawn with such a horrible aspect; but is it not surprising, that the most civilized states among the Greeks, in their most flourishing times, should make so woeful a figure? † For what can we perceive in our author's representation of this celebrated country, the ancient seat of the muses, and the mother of arts and sciences, but the most frightful images of desolation and confusion! Lands de-

* P. 248. † P. 194, 195.

populated, cities plundered, citizens slaughtered ! scarce any vestige of peace and security, or of wise and regular institutions ! notwithstanding the learning, philosophy, and politeness of the Greeks, their factions are represented as more inflamed, their maxims of assassination more avowed, and party rage more fierce than among the Irish, amidst massacre and rebellion ! How does such a representation agree with the evidence of authentic history, which proves that the Greeks flourished greatly in the arts of peace, and in numbers of people, from the days of the seven sages, till their states were subdued by Philip of Macedon and his successors ?

Demonstration puts an end to all uncertainty, and forces the assent ; but where the case is not capable of being demonstrated, plausible arguments may often be offered on both sides. This happens especially in political questions ; for every political institution has both its advantages and disadvantages ; and as either of these are represented in such manner, as to strike more forcibly on our minds, the impressions we receive of the institutions themselves, are more or less favourable. It must be confessed, that there is sometimes an air of fierceness in ancient governments, and that Grecian liberty may appear sometimes to deserve the appellation of licentiousness. The smallness of ancient states, their near neighbourhood to one another, the equality of fortune among private citizens, their love of

independence, their disdain of mercenary troops, and forwardness to fight their own battles, their aversion to the power of a single person, their hatred of tyrants, and their passion for the republican form of government, must at sometimes have given occasion to brisker battles, and raised up keener factions, in support of what they valued so much, than will be seen for a considerable time together among the spiritless subjects of arbitrary monarchs. Hence the frightful images of Grecian spirit and liberty ! But this high disdain of arbitrary power, and ardent love of liberty, must have been accompanied with many advantages, much more than sufficient to overbalance any of those disadvantages which arose from the nature of these governments. In particular, it must have excited an extraordinary vigour, and inspired an undaunted resolution; from whence their battles, though keener, would not much alarm, nor give them much disturbance in their management of the ordinary affairs of life, which they would pursue fearless, after a manner very different from that of modern times.

In nations under the dominion of arbitrary monarchs, the body of the people are not accustomed to war; few, except the tyrant's guards and Janizaries, are either allowed to have arms, or are capable of using them. Hence, frightened at every shadow, they are alarmed and disconcerted by the most distant appearance of danger.

So far from behaving with the intrepidity of the ancient artists and husbandmen, they are not even able to conceive it, or imagine how they could go on calmly in their ordinary affairs, in the face of danger and an enemy.* Nay a people blessed with liberty, under a government more happily poised than any of the ancient republics, active and industrious, because secure under the protection of law, tenacious of their rights, and jealous of their independence, will hardly be able to form a notion of such intrepidity, if, laying aside the exercise of arms, and imagining themselves secure by the wisdom of their constitution, they shall employ themselves wholly in the arts of peace.

It is impossible to form an exact comparison between the wars and factions which have happened in different ages, or make a just estimate of the destruction each of them has occasioned within the same periods of time, and an equal extent of country ; yet it will not be difficult to produce a far more formidable list of civil wars, factions, and devastations, for modern times, than our author has done for the ancient. But independently upon this, some general observations may be made, which will greatly invalidate the arguments in the Political Discourse, taken from the wars and factions in ancient times.

The mischiefs of war are often more terrible in

* The author had the British in his view.

appearance than reality, and the description is more dreadful than what was actually felt; especially if a multitude of bloody events, which only happened in succeeding ages, and in countries at a distance from one another, are collected together, and brought into one view. This is one evident reason, why the accounts of the direful effects of war in ancient times appear so striking. Fancy is apt to hurry us on, and make us overlook the distance both of time and place; so that we contract the whole period and field of ancient history, as it were, into a small point. Besides, ancient historians do not, like the modern, descend into a minute detail of all events, but, selecting those which are more extraordinary, such as battles, seditions, conspiracies, and foreign conquests, present them to view in historical narrations, short and concise, compared with those of the moderns. Hence the transition from one remarkable event to another, in ancient, is far more quick than in modern histories, where the attention of the mind is diverted, and the thread of the narration interrupted by the minute detail of smaller and less considerable events.

The numbers of those, who were killed or banished in the ancient wars, and factions, may have been magnified, as well as other numbers in ancient authors. It is probable in particular, that the confusions in the Greek republics are much augmented in the accounts of their orators. Can we think otherwise of what Isocrates says to

Philip, "That it would be easier to raise an army in Greece at present from the vagabonds, than from the cities."* This was only a hyperbolic way of speaking, and could not be agreeable to the truth of history: the whole number of these vagabonds, whom the orator is describing, could only have been about 20,000; for this was the number of exiles, when Alexander ordered them to be restored. A number very inconsiderable, compared with those mighty armies which could have been raised at that time, in a country so populous as Greece, where all the citizens were soldiers. We find, that, about this very time, the Greeks agreed to raise eleven times as many as the whole number of vagabonds, to support Philip in his expedition against the Persians.†

But supposing that there is no mistake in the numbers of those who are said to have been killed in the ancient wars, it ought to be considered, that all the ancient soldiers, nay, all the ancients in general, being married, the loss of a much greater number, who had children to succeed them, would not be so much felt, as the death of a much smaller number in modern times, in which so many are unmarried.

Add to this, that if we suppose a country to be populous at any particular time, such a country cannot well be rendered unpopulous by wars, un-

* Politic. Discours. p. 197.

† This shall be proved afterwards.

less there is some other source of decay. If affairs are wisely regulated in other respects, war will have but an inconsiderable effect, unless in some very extraordinary cases. Notwithstanding the civil wars in Britain, in the reign of Charles I. it is scarce to be doubted, but the country was as populous at the end of them, at least at the death of Oliver Cromwell, as it had been at the beginning of the war.

This may be illustrated by what our author has observed, * “ That after plagues have swept away the third or fourth part of a people, in a generation or two the destruction is not perceived, and the society acquires their former number:” and that “ the *lues venerea*, diffused every where, is perhaps equivalent, by its constant operation, to the three great scourges of mankind, war, pestilence, and famine.” From the same principles will it not follow, that the constant operation of a good constitution, and of maxims which tended much to populousness, such as many of those of antient times are confessed to have been, would be more effectual to augment, than wars and insurrections, which happen only at particular times, to diminish the numbers of the people? And if Switzerland, according to our author’s concession, † notwithstanding its inlisting its subjects into every service in Europe, is

* P. 160, 157, 158.

† P. 185, 186.

found to abound in people, merely by the force of its political institutions, and without possessing any advantage, either of soil, climate, or commerce; may we not justly infer, that the ancient republics, which he acknowledges it resembles in its government and maxims, might have been much more populous than this modern republic, notwithstanding their frequent battles, since they possessed much greater advantages both of soil and climate?

But besides such general observations, if we go into a more particular detail, and compare different ages with one another, it will be difficult to show, that modern ages have been happier than the ancient, in freedom from factions and wars. Nay, if we consider the many civil wars, occasioned by the disputed titles of princes, by their invasions of the rights of their subjects, by their struggles for arbitrary power, and by the fury of religious disputes (a thing but little known in antiquity), it will be almost a demonstration, that these civil and religious wars have been far more destructive than the ancient factions in popular states, on which so great stress is laid in the Political Discourse.

It is natural for us in Britain, who, amidst all our foreign wars, have so long enjoyed the sweets of peace at home, to be much struck with such a list, as our author has given, of those who had been killed or banished by the different factions among the Greeks; yet upon a more accurate in-

spection, the case will not be found so dreadful, as it appears upon the first view. Taking our author for our guide, the number of those who were banished under the free governments, amounted only to 11,400, the number of the killed to 6060. In some cases, the precise numbers are not mentioned; however, it can scarce be thought they would much swell the account. Add to these 10,000 said to have been butchered in cold blood, by Dionysius the elder, and 69,000 killed and banished by the tyrant Agathocles. This is the sum of the whole. Comparing therefore the two periods; in ancient times we shall find about 100,000 killed and banished in a course of 60 years, in the free states of Greece, in Syracuse, Gela, and Ægesta in Sicily, in Sybaris in Italy, in Ephesus in Asia, in the islands of Corcyra and Chios, and in Cyrene, states which were very populous; of which number Dionysius the elder alone killed half as many, and Agathocles killed and banished thrice as many as all the free states taken together. This is not an inconsiderable number to have been destroyed by factions and civil wars; but nothing near so great, as could have depopulated ancient nations; nor is it at all considerable, in respect of those who have been banished, killed, and massacred, by civil and religious wars, in some particular countries, within much shorter periods of time, during the space of about 200 years immediately

preceding the beginning of this century ; as will be evident from the following examples.

In the year 1492, 200,000 Jewish families were banished out of Spain on account of their religion. * And within little more than another century, in the year 1610, in the reign of Philip III. 900,000 Moors † were driven out of the same

* This was done in consequence of an edict published by Ferdinand V. " Quo jubentur omnes Judæi, nisi velint Christiani fieri, Hispania excedere." They were allowed four months to dispose of their effects. " Pulsa sunt hoc modo plus quam ducenta familiarum millia. Sed nihil, ut appendix Ursperg. habet, exportare iis licuit de auro vel gemmis, sed pro hisce ipsis mutare licuit vinum, victum, vestes, et alia ad iter necessaria." *Calvisius ad Ann.* 1492.

Petavius in his *Rationarium Temporum*, where he mentions the taking of Granada, An. 1492, adds, " Eodemque anno 171 familiarum millia Judaici generis in exilium abiere, quæ ad 800,000 capitum fuisse dicuntur." And quotes as his authorities, Naclerus and Mariana.

† This is the number in Turselin's *Epitome*, lib. 11. *ad Ann.* 1610. He adds indeed, " E quibus innumeri in Africam abiere, plurimi variis aliis locis dispersi fuere; non pauci commercio linguæ tecti, et mutatis sidibus ignoti mansere in Hispania." But the number of those last who are said to have remained in Spain, must have been small, in comparison of the rest, who could not possibly have concealed themselves in this manner.

Doctor Geddes, in the first vol. of his *Tracts*, printed at London, 1730, gives an account of this expulsion of the Jews and Moors, well worth the perusal of all sound protestants and politicians. These two expulsions were attended with many barbarous and cruel circumstances. Doctor Geddes observes, that the dispersion of the Spanish Jews, is reckoned by all of that nation and religion, to have been, both as to hardships, and as to numbers, nothing

country on the same account. Such a remarkable instance of cruelty, folly, and madness, is not to be paralleled among any of the ancient nations.

What vast numbers must have been killed during those civil and religious wars in France, which lasted near 40 years, from 1562 to 1599! In the first battle, which was fought at Dreux in Normandy, anno 1562, 9000 were killed: how many must have perished in the rest of the battles and sieges, during a course of so many years! Where can we find such an example of cruelty and destruction in antiquity, as the massacre which was begun at Paris on St Bartholomy's day, August 24. 1572? According to Davila, more than 10,000 were killed in Paris alone on that and the following day; among whom there were 500 gentlemen and officers, who had come from all parts of the kingdom, to honour the nuptials of the king of Navarre. He adds, that, according to common report, no fewer than

inferior to that which followed upon the destruction of Jerusalem; above 800,000 men, women, and children, having been expelled out of Spain at this time. He observes further, that the Spanish historians are not agreed about the number of the Moriscoes that were expelled; some reckoning them a million, others 900,000; but most authors only 600,000. According to the archbishop of Valencia's computation (page 133) there were above 40,000 Moriscoe children born every year in Spain, from which it will follow, according to Mr Haley's calculations, that there must have been more than 1,360,000 Moors in the whole kingdom.

40,000 Protestants perished in a few days on this occasion. *

But, as if France had not suffered sufficiently, and too little cruelty had been exercised during this distracted period, within less than a century, by the unhappy politics of Lewis XIV., more than a million of Protestants, according to the common computation, were driven out of France, or obliged to fly from it in a few years, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in the year 1685. So fatally was this celebrated monarch misled by his bigotry on this occasion.†

* Calvisius, ad ann. 1572, takes notice, that Charles IX. in a letter to Pope Gregory XIII. boasted, that 70,000 of them had been killed in a few days; and quotes Onuphrius for his authority.

Thuan, after a detail of this horrible affair, adds: "Proditumque a multis plus 30 hominum millia toto regno extincta; quamvis aliquanto minorem numerum credo," lib. 52.

According to Turselin in his *Epitome*, "ad 60 millia Parisiis cæsa traduntur."

† The author of *Le Siècle de Louis XIV.*, though a great admirer of this prince, most justly condemns his treatment of his Protestant subjects, as cruel and impolitic. Tome 2. chap. 32, he confesses, that almost 50,000 families fled out of France in three years, and were afterwards followed by others; and that France lost about 500,000 inhabitants. Tome 1. chap. 14. he states them at more than 600,000. They have been commonly computed at a million or more. The same author asserts, tome 2. chap. 32. that there are still remaining letters under the Marquis of Louvois's hand, dated 1685, conceived in these terms, "Sa majesté veut qu'on fasse éprouver les dernières rigueurs à ceux qui ne voudront pas se faire de sa religion; et ceux qui auront la sottise

It is impossible to compute, how many perished by the wars in the Netherlands, excited by the tyranny and bigotry of Philip II. king of Spain; but it is certain, that these wars were very bloody and destructive. According to Bentivoglio, * the siege of Ostend alone, which continued three years cost more than 100,000 lives. Calvisius† reckons a much greater number. Could we compute the number of those who were killed at each battle and siege, during so long a war, ‡ together with the number of such as perished by the barbarous cruelties of the Spaniards committed in cold blood, to what an immense multitude would the whole amount!

And though the civil wars in Britain, in the reigns of Charles I. and II. did not continue so long, and were not conducted with such fury on the part of the Protestants of either side; yet many more perished in them, than what are mentioned by our author in all the struggles between the nobles and the people in all the free states of Greece. Mr Rapin, the most impartial writer of the History of England, though he declares expressly, that, without narrating the particulars of

gloire de vouloir demeurer les derniers, doivent être poussés jusqu'à la dernière extrémité."

* In his *Guerre di Fiandra*.

† His words are, "In Ostenda perierunt obsidionis tempore, 72900 homines; Hispanorum obsidentium qui perierunt multo plures fuerunt. Sed eorum ratio iniri non potuit."

‡ It lasted 42 years, from 1567, to 1609.

all the skirmishes and conflicts during the war, he will confine himself to some of the principal actions; and though he frequently satisfies himself, with taking notice in general, that many were killed, without mentioning the particular numbers; yet has given as many particular lists of such as were said to have been killed in different battles and rencounters, as amount to near 40,000. Undoubtedly the number was much greater, considering with what briskness these civil wars were managed on both sides, and how many battles and skirmishes were fought, and towns besieged, taken and re-taken, in so many different places. To all which we may add more than 100,000 Protestants killed in the Irish massacre alone.* Upon the whole matter, it seems

* Con a Mahony, an Irish Jesuit, in a book printed at Lisbon 1645, in which he exhorts his countrymen to kill all the Protestants in Ireland, has the following remarkable expressions as cited by Dr Geddes. "My dear Irish, Go on and perfect the work of your liberty and defence, which is so happily begun by you; and kill all the heretics, and all that do assist and defend them. You have, in the space of four or five years, that is, betwixt the year 1641, and the year 1645, wherein I write this, killed 150,000 heretics, as your enemies do acknowledge, neither do you deny it: and, for my own part, as I verily believe, that you have killed more of them; so I would to God, you had killed them all." *Geddes's Tracts*, Vol. I. pag. 84.

According to the Earl of Clarendon, "This insurrection of the Irish spread itself over the whole country, in such an inhuman, and barbarous manner, that there were forty or fifty thousand of the English Protestants murdered, before they suspected them-

evident, that not only no argument can be drawn against the superior populousness of antiquity, from the ancient factions and civil wars, but that the argument from this topic is altogether in favour of the ancients. * Nor need we scruple to assert, that the struggles for arbitrary power, and the attempts of modern tyrants to inslave their subjects, together with the bigotry of modern times, and the dreadful persecutions which have happened on account of religion, may justly be numbered among the fatal sources of the want of people in Europe during the latter ages.

Thus it appears, that ancient wars † were not

selves to be in any danger, or could provide for their defence, by drawing together into towns or strong holds."

• The civil and religious factions of modern times, have been so prodigiously destructive, that as our author has mentioned nothing like them, so it will truly be found impossible to shew that there was ever any thing of the kind so destructive, before the establishment of the Roman empire. How bitter have been the effects of that dogmatic, cruel, and persecuting spirit which has infected the Christian, or rather the Antichristian church, and has discovered itself so dreadfully in the bloody maxims, and barbarous policy, of Popery! Through this savage zeal, how many thousands, yea millions, have been harassed, banished, and destroyed! How many of the deluded votaries, and emissaries of the court of Rome, have violated justice, broken through the most sacred engagements, and laid aside humanity! Of this, many authentic documents might be produced.

† Though, in the preceding pages, I have only spoken of civil and religious wars; yet, it does not appear, that there is any just reason to believe foreign wars to have been, upon the whole, less destructive in modern than in ancient times.

near so destructive as those in modern times. In the same manner, it will be difficult to conceive, how the members of the ancient republics could have been more oppressed in times of peace, than the subjects of our modern monarchies, most of which are absolute; yet our author has laid a considerable stress on this article, and taken notice of the large fines which were sometimes imposed upon individuals in an arbitrary manner under the ancient aristocracies and democracies. No doubt, particular instances may be given of impositions under the best governments; but it would be a paradox indeed, if republics, notwithstanding all their limitations and divisions of power, should be found to bear hardest upon their subjects. Where there was such a high spirit of liberty and equality, as appeared in the ancient nations, fines can never be supposed to have been so frequent, or so grievous upon the whole, as the perpetual exactions of arbitrary princes, and their favourites, who may, and undoubtedly do impose heavier taxes upon their inferiors, with less danger, than the nobles or people under the ancient republics could have done upon their equals. In short, as the warlike, active, and independent spirit of the ancients had many advantages to balance the disadvantages to which it gave occasion; so there is no reason to believe these disadvantages to have been so great, as to afford any probable ground of rejecting those testimonies concerning the po-

pulousness of ancient nations, against which there is no reasonable objection on other accounts.

Besides the preceding observations, it will be proper to take particular notice of an extraordinary remark, That there was not in Italy, at the time when the laws of the twelve tables were composed, much more order, tranquillity, and settled police, than there is at present among the Tartars; which Mr Hume would conclude, because by these laws possession for two years formed a prescription for land, one year for moveables.*

Though we could not make it appear, that there was no inconsistency between a settled police, and this law concerning prescription, from the situation and extent of the Roman territory at that time; from the division of the lands into the smallest shares; and from the simplicity of those days: a more accurate reflection on the history of Rome, might not only convince us, that there was order, tranquillity, and settled police; but also disclose perhaps the most pregnant symptoms of wisdom and conduct among the Romans long before this time. And it will serve not only to overturn Mr Hume's position, but also greatly to confirm several observations which have been made in the foregoing Dissertation concerning the division of lands, if we shall mention particularly some institutions which were

* P. 191.

established among the Romans, long before the time of composing the twelve tables, and then shew from these laws themselves, that property was well secured by them.

It is needless to descend into a particular detail of the great exploits which they had already performed, or to make particular mention of the many illustrious men, whose uncommon political abilities, as well as bravery, had raised their country to so high a pitch of glory. The annals of history are filled with the remembrance of these facts; and it would be impertinent, as well as unnecessary, to recount them.

I shall only beg leave to cite a succession of elected princes, but elected with that wisdom and foresight, which shew a constant and determined plan, as each of them was endowed in a remarkable manner with those talents which fitted him for forming as well as supporting a new state, in that situation, in which the Roman republic was found at the time of the accession of each succeeding prince to the throne. Indeed these very princes, by their wise laws and institutions, seem to have laid the foundation of the grandeur of that city, which afterwards became, by a steady adherence to these institutions, the mistress of the world.

Not to mention all the particular religious institutions of Numa, the decorations of Ancus, and the civil establishments of Servius; consider only in a political view that system of religion

which was introduced by Numa ; for it is only in a political view, as an human institution, contrived by a legislator for producing certain effects, that it either can or ought to be considered. Consider it, I say, only in this view, and you shall find, that it served in a remarkable manner, not only to preserve integrity of manners, and subordination of rank among the Romans, but also to maintain peace and tranquillity in the state, and to prevent those differences of sects, factions, and opinions, which have, like fiends, infested modern times, and torn and distracted modern governments. Hence it is, that in the history of Rome, during a long period of 700 years, we hear only, I think, of one commotion on the score of religion.

The institution of the Census by Servius, can never be sufficiently admired, and is another incontestable proof of the wisdom not only of that prince, by whom it was introduced, but also of the Roman people, who cheerfully submitted to so wise an institution. Were an attempt made to introduce such an institution into Britain at this day, with what opposition would it meet ! what confusion would it raise ! and into what a ferment would it throw the nation ! Nay, notwithstanding all our boasted civility, politeness, and wisdom, it may be greatly questioned, whether it would be possible, with all the address of which we are capable, to bring the people of Britain to submit to it.

Again, * another proof of the existence of a wise and regular police among the Romans in the most early times, may be drawn from a view of that admirable connection, which subsisted between those laws which related to the partition of lands, and those which regarded the order of succession to estates. Romulus, we are informed by ancient historians, divided that little field, which, in his time, was called the Roman empire, among his people. Each particular family got a small portion to cultivate and improve: for, having almost as many people as he had acres, he was obliged by necessity to study mediocrity, and to make the shares extremely small. And, mediocrity being absolutely necessary for the well-being and subsistence of his little state, it was necessary to regulate the order of succession, so as to preserve it among the citizens, and to hinder any particular person from acquiring so great wealth, as would give him either superior eminence or greater influence than the rest of his fellows. Accordingly the order of succession seems to have been regulated chiefly in this view: for the partition of the lands, and the preservation of mediocrity among the citizens, seem to have been the true cause and original of all those rules of succession, which were in force till the time of the Decenvirs.

* See *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. 27. where the ingenious and judicious author prosecutes this connexion to its most remote consequences.

In order therefore to preserve mediocrity, it was necessary that the portion which had been allotted at first to each particular family, should remain in the family to which it had been at first assigned; and that no family should acquire more than its own share. For this purpose, the Romans established by law two orders of heirs: those who were under the parental authority of the *paterfamilias*, and were called *heredes sui*, their own heirs. Secondly, In default of these *heredes sui*, those who were most nearly related to the deceased by males, and were called *agnati*.

Hence it is evident, that if the deceased left heirs of the first order, and his estate descended to them, it could never depart from the original family. For, if he left only one heir, this person alone succeeded to the whole estate: if he left more than one in the same degree of propinquity, the estate was divided equally among them all: and, as marriage in those incorrupted days was common, and the Romans were robust and healthful, heirs of this order would be seldom wanting. But if at any time they did happen to fail, the law calling to the succession those of the second order, viz. the nearest agnates, the estate was still preserved in the original family, and could never grow to an enormous bulk.

But, as it was intended, that the estate of one family should never be annexed to that of another, it was hence necessary to exclude wholly from the succession those who were related to

the deceased by females, and were called *cognati*: for these cognates belonged to another family, and would, if they had been admitted to the succession, have caused several estates to have been soon united in one family, and of course the eminence and influence of that family to have increased greatly.

On this principle, children were excluded from succeeding to their mothers, and mothers were excluded from succeeding to their children. For the mother belonging to one family, and her children to another, had they been mutual heirs, the estate of one family should have been united to that of another.

From hence it appears plainly, that there was no reason to distinguish, whether the person who succeeded was male or female. Accordingly, females, as well as males, were admitted indiscriminately to the succession; for they belonged equally to the family: and if a female happened to succeed, no more property was vested in her single person, than would have been vested in that of a male, who should have happened to succeed in her place. If she married, the estate still continued in the original family, as represented by her person: and at her death neither her husband succeeded to her, nor indeed at the death of her husband did she succeed to him; for they were neither *agnates* nor *cognates* to one another: nor did her children succeed to her, as we have said already; for they were not her *agnates*. Her

own *agnates* therefore succeeded to her, which made her estate descend to the very same persons, to whom it would have descended, if she had not intervened, and the estate had devolved immediately on that person, who would have succeeded to the deceased, if she had never existed. Thus the estate of each family was kept separate from that of his neighbour, and mediocrity was preserved.

But further, it follows from what has been said, that grandchildren by a son were allowed to succeed to their paternal grandfather, while those by a daughter did not succeed to their maternal grandfather. For it is plain, that grandchildren by a son continued still to make part of the paternal grandfather's family, and, of course, on their succession, did not make the estate depart from the original family; whereas grandchildren by a daughter did not make a part of their maternal grandfather's family, but a part of that of their own father or father's father. So that, had they succeeded to their maternal grandfather's estate, since at the same time they succeeded to that of their paternal grandfather, in this manner the estates of two different families would have been united in the person of one *paterfamilias*, and the mediocrity been quickly destroyed.

That these rules of succession might remain in force, we may easily see it would be absolutely necessary, that no private citizen should have a power of altering the order of succession esta-

blished by the public law, and of instituting an heir at pleasure. Accordingly we find, that the power of making a testament belonged to no private citizen before the laws of the twelve tables. For if each particular citizen had had a full power of leaving his estate, or disinheriting his lawful heirs, according as his caprice or whim might have dictated, the state of the republic might have been soon totally changed, and an entirely new face of affairs been seen. If therefore at any time a citizen found himself in that situation, which required a particular destination of his estate, since by his own private authority he could not alter the public law, it was necessary to prefer a bill to the people, who, if they found it *e republica*, by their legislative authority, gave their supreme sanction to his testament. Hence the *testamenta in comitiis calatis facta*, the only testaments that were in use before the laws of the twelve tables. As these testaments were really and truly laws, and could not be enacted without a great deal of solemnity, it is plain, that it would be only in extraordinary cases they could be in use; and that as the people themselves had in this way the tuition and guardianship of their own institutions, it could seldom happen that the alterations made in any particular case could greatly affect, or tend to destroy that public order of succession which was established, in order to preserve mediocrity of fortune among the citizens. For these were

times of virtue, in which it would always be first considered, whether any bill was or was not *e re publica*; so that the designs which the legislature had in establishing this extraordinary order of succession would be still preserved.

It is true indeed, that the Decemviri in one article receded from the ancient disposition of the laws, and, by those of the twelve tables, gave to each *paterfamilias* a full and ample power of disposing of his estate, by last will or testament, according to his own pleasure. But we must at the same time remember, that the same rules of succession *ab intestato*, which had formerly taken place, were still kept in force, and established by the Decenvirs.* For this order of succession does not seem to have been one of those institutions which were imported into the Roman territory by those deputies, who were sent into Greece to bring home materials for composing a body of laws; but seems to have been, like the *patria potestas*, one of those native institutions, which had been in force long before, perhaps from the very infancy of their empire, and to have been only continued, and further enforced by the laws of the twelve tables. Therefore, though an overweening fondness for paternal authority, and for its unlimited extent, led the Romans to allow fathers either to institute

* See L'Esprit des Loix, liv. 27.

or to disinherit those heirs, whom, by the most ancient disposition of their laws, they had full power to murder; we must not conclude, that they immediately made free use of this power. It was much otherwise; the people at that time had a love of the republic, and, of course, of mediocrity of fortune. Their virtue did all, and the love of it hindered the people from counteracting the public law, and opposing the public good, by overturning those rules of succession, which were so necessary for preserving equality among the citizens, and harmony in the commonwealth.

By consequence, the legal succession usually took place, and the custom of making testaments did not grow common for a great number of years; so that still an equality of fortune was preserved, and the most eminent citizens were possessed of only a little spot. However, testaments did at last become frequent; and, of course, that mediocrity of fortune, which is the basis of republican government, was soon destroyed. Some citizens became poor, others acquired immense possessions; ideas of riches and poverty became familiar, and cries for agrarian and sumptuary laws became violent. But the evil was become both so universal and so virulent, as to admit of no remedy. The republic was at last destroyed; and that so much sooner, as from confined ideas of natural equity, the prætors, by their edicts, under the appearance

of correcting, really undermined the public order of succession, which had been so wisely calculated for preserving the happiness and virtue of the people.

Can we then say, that there was no order, tranquillity, or settled police among the Romans at that time, when they had formed such wise institutions, and enacted laws with a foresight, which may astonish many politicians, who have had the experience of 2000 years more than the legislators of that remote age!

Besides, the expulsion of Tarquin, the Valerian law *de provocatione*, justly esteemed the foundation of the liberty of the Roman people; the institution of the tribunes, and the steadiness with which they adhered to every scheme contrived, and resolution formed for the preservation of their liberty, are evident marks of at least some degree of wisdom and policy, and plainly show, that the situation of the Romans in those early days, before the composition of the laws of the twelve tables, was more peaceful, and themselves more civilized, than Mr Hume seems to imagine.

But that there was a settled police and great order among the Romans at this time, appears especially from that inclination which they showed on this very occasion, to amend their constitution, by introducing a new system of laws into their dominions; from the wisdom and sagacity

with which they carried this scheme into execution; from their steadiness in pursuing their resolution, as well as their care in searching out, and docility in embracing whatever was most perfect among other nations; and, finally, from those fragments of the laws themselves, which have survived the Roman republic, and the ruins of time.

Free from those prejudices, which attach an ignorant and barbarous people to their native institutions, the Romans having laid aside all admiration of their own laws, sent ambassadors abroad into foreign countries, to collect whatever they should find best constituted in other states, and to import their observations, and the wisdom they should learn, into their own country. These ambassadors having visited the most renowned states of Greece, and made accurate observations on different polities, returned with an ample collection, and store of wisdom and political knowledge. The state was no sooner provided in this manner with a plentiful stock of rich materials, on which to work, than ten men, of the greatest abilities, were appointed to select, arrange, and compile that body of laws, which conducted the Romans to universal empire, and was the root from whence afterwards sprang the most complete and most perfect body of civil law the world has as yet seen. Neither did the Romans content themselves with the wisdom of those whom their

own country could afford; for, as well in compiling as interpreting the laws,* the Decemviri used the assistance of Hermodorus, a celebrated Ephesian, who had been banished by his countrymen for his superior wisdom, abilities, and worth; was an intimate friend of Heraclitus, the most humane perhaps of the wise men of old; and seems to have been the philosopher of those days, who was most remarkable for his skill in policy and legislation. † Heraclitus used to say of this man, that all the Ephesians deserved to die, for having banished the best and most worthy of the citizens. ‡ Other nations would perhaps have conceived a hatred, but the Romans showed gratitude to their best benefactor. By public authority, they erected a statue to Hermodorus, to whom they had so great obligations. || Conduct so wise, and actions so uncommon, are irresistible proofs, not only of the wisdom, but of the regular police of the Romans in those days. How few modern nations have ever attempted so grand a scheme? How few have succeeded in the attempt, and carried their schemes into execution? When so plain in-

* Strabo, lib. 14. p. 951. L. 2. § 4. ff. de Origine Juris.

† This appears from some letters of Heraclitus, directed to him, which may be seen in Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, vit Heracl.

‡ Diogen. Laert. vit. Philosop. lib. ix. c. 1. n. 2. Cicer. Tuscul. Disput. lib. 5. cap. 36.

|| Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 34. cap. 5.

stances of the wisdom and docility of the Tartars can be cited, then, and not till then, ought they to be compared with the Romans.

But it can be demonstrated, from the peculiar situation of the Romans, that this law concerning *usucapio* was well accommodated to the circumstances of the times.

The Romans had not as yet carried their conquests far; their territory was extended but a small way around the city; it was divided into the smallest shares; the people lived in a simple and frugal manner; their substance consisted chiefly in their slaves, their cattle, their instruments of agriculture, their arms, and a few household utensils necessary for a people living amidst labour and frugality; and they did not abound with that variety of moveables, which are found in commercial nations, nor with those gewgaws and refinements with which their posterity became so well acquainted.

In such circumstances, it would not be easy for one man to invade the property of another. People who have few things of which they can be deprived, will soon miss any of them which may happen to be taken away from them: and if taken away, it would be an easy matter to recover them in a little country, where almost every man was acquainted with his neighbour, and had a pretty accurate knowledge of the moveables of which he was possessed. Hence a year was time long enough for the *usucapion* of moveables,

The same length of time continued to be the term for this *usucapion*, not only all the while the republic enjoyed its liberty, but also long after the establishment of the empire; and a time not much longer, viz. three years, was thought to be long enough in the days of Justinian. So that we may well be allowed to doubt, whether the tedious length of time required to give right to moveables in those nations, which are reckoned most civilized at present, be any mark of more order, greater tranquillity, and more settled police, than were at Rome in the days of Julius or Augustus Cæsar.

But if moveables could not be carried away, surely much less could immoveables be invaded without observation. A Roman, who maintained himself and his family, by cultivating his little farm, would immediately and sensibly feel the want of it, and would take care to recover it speedily.

Besides, disputes about property and succession could be but rare, as the laws of the twelve tables were short and perspicuous, and the rules of succession accurately determined. Kindred and affinity were easily known, and the remembrance of them was among the Romans nicely preserved by those sacred rites and institutions, which were proper to each family; at which the whole family and kindred met; and to which no extraneous persons were admitted.

Further, such was the situation of the Roman

territory at this time, that it was not only not easy, but I believe I might say, almost impossible, not only to seize on the lands of another, but to encroach even on the marches, by which these lands were divided. For we must not imagine, that at this time estates were divided, as they are at present in most countries of Europe, by insignificant lines of no breadth. Between each farm there was left uncultivated a space, no less than five feet broad, which was distinguished by the name of *iter limitare*. This space was held sacred, being dedicated to the god *Terminus*, and, of course, it could not be acquired by *usucapion*. Nay, it was accounted sacrilege, either to plough or to encroach on it.* In this manner was the property of each particular citizen distinguished, and kept separate from that of his neighbour. Shall we wonder then, that the *Decemviri*, when they had determined the boundaries of land with such precision, at the same time made the space of two years the time requisite for the *usucapion* of it? Shall we say, that there was nothing but barbarity and rudeness among the Romans, when so wise provisions were made by their laws? Further, the *terminalia*, which were celebrated yearly by sacrificing, and by surrounding the marches, kept a constant and certain remembrance of every man's property.

* *Dion. Halicar. lib: 2. Festus in voce Termino.*

Can modern times boast of institutions better calculated for promoting the design which the legislature has in view?

Nay, such anxiety and care did the Romans show, in separating property, and preserving these marches, that, when their territory had become extensive, and their people more numerous as well as less virtuous, they enacted the Mamilian law for the tuition of this very *iter limitare*; which law enforced what had been enacted of old by the laws of the twelve tables.

Besides, this *usucapion* introduced by these laws, did not make property so fleeting and transitory, as one would at first sight imagine. It is true, the time of possession was short: but the other requisites, without which it could not proceed, were so many, and of a nature so peculiar, that they could seldom happen to meet in any but the true and rightful proprietor. For, first, it was necessary, that the possessor should have *bona fides*, and should honestly and sincerely believe, that the thing possessed by him was really his own, and was transmitted to him either by the true proprietor himself, or somebody commissioned by him. Nay, it was not sufficient to have this good faith at the first acquisition of the property or possession; but it behoved to be continual and uninterrupted, during the whole currency of the year or two years.* In a state whose

* L. un. C. de Usucap. Transformanda.

territory was narrow, and especially where estates were small, and every one knew what belonged to his neighbour, it would not be so easy a matter to preserve this *bona fides* continually, even for a single year or two. And the intervention of ill faith interrupted the *usucapion* immediately, and no doubt would effectually hinder many acquisitions in this way.

Secondly, it was necessary that the possessor should possess *ex justo titulo*, such as would have immediately transferred the property, if derived from the true proprietor. Hence, not only open force and violence, but even fraud of all kinds, was pretty much excluded.

Thirdly, Not only the good faith, but also the possession, behoved to be continual and uninterrupted. For, if before the lapse of the time required by law for completing the *usucapion*, the possessor should by any means lose his possession, all the past time availed him nothing. Nor was it necessary, that the true owner either should be the person who interrupted his possession, or should himself acquire it. It was sufficient if this was done by any other: for the usurpation, or interruption of the possession, by whomsoever it was effected, operated equally in favour of all, who pretended to have any right to the thing in question.*

* L. 5. ff. de Usurpationibus et Usucapionibus.

Mr Hume seems to imagine, that this law had an influence over all Italy. But we must remember the extent of the Roman territory at this time : it made only a very inconsiderable part of Italy ; consequently a very inconsiderable part of Italy was affected by this law, and by the time of *usucapion* introduced by it. For it never took place *extra ditionem reipublicæ Romanæ* ; it never obtained *in terris sociorum*, or in the provinces. These were much governed by their own proper laws, and, no doubt, had each their own rules about prescription. Indeed it is probable, though it cannot be peremptorily affirmed, that, after the social war, when all the Italians got the *jus civitatis Romanæ*, the land in Italy was placed *inter res Mancipi*, and might by consequence be acquired by *usucapion*. But at this time it can never be said, there was no order or settled police in Italy. With much less reason can it be said, that there was no order or settled police in Italy at the time when the laws of the twelve tables were enacted, since the Roman territory was then so confined.

Besides, Mr Hume seems to have not observed the necessary distinction between *usucapion* and prescription, and to think, that the shortness of the time in *usucapion* was never corrected till the days of Justinian. It was much otherwise. For as the Roman power was extended over a wide tract of country, and the law of *usucapion* did not take place *extra ditionem reipublicæ Romanæ*, hence

things which lay without this limit, could not be acquired in this manner. For this reason, *possessio*, or *præscriptio longi temporis*, was introduced, by which the property of lands lying in the provinces, which were not capable of *usucapion*, might be acquired. Indeed most part of modern lawyers think, this *longi temporis possessio* was introduced by the emperors, in order to supply the defects of *usucapion*; however, tolerably good reasons might be brought to prove the introduction of it to have been earlier than that of the monarchy. This possession *longi temporis*, as it differed in many respects from *usucapion*, so especially in the length of time, during which it was required that the possession should be continued. Indeed it is uncertain, what precise length of time, though it seems probable, that immemorial possession was required at first; and that the duration of this possession was shortened by degrees, till it was at last reduced to the stated time of ten years in presence, and twenty in absence.

Thus we see how small a way the law of *usucapion* extended during the liberty of the republic, and especially at the time of the composition of the laws of the twelve tables. And we may infer, that there was not in Italy at that time so great rudeness and barbarity, as Mr Hume would make us believe.

Indeed the preceding observations, which it was necessary to make, in order to set this part of

his argument in a clear light, plainly demonstrate, not only that barbarity did not prevail, but that there was a regular and well-ordered police among the Romans at this time, such as may make some modern nations not a little ashamed.

But our author seems to have conceived so sorry an opinion, not only of that period, when the laws of the twelve tables were composed, but also of all the more remote periods of antiquity, on account of what he supposes to have been fierceness and an unsettled condition, as to imagine * the age of "Trajan and the Antonines to have been more populous than any of the preceding, and the only period in which the western part of the world might possibly contain more inhabitants than at present, as the great extent of the Roman empire was then civilized and cultivated, settled almost in a profound peace, both foreign and domestic, and living under the same regular police and government." Thus all the charming scenes of more remote antiquity, like some fairy vision or magic enchantment, vanish at once; and instead of Grecian and Roman freedom and virtue, we are referred to an oppressive despotic empire, as the most fertile source of populousness.

For what reason should we so much degrade the times of liberty, or consider even the most flourishing period of the Roman empire, or the

* P. 254.

reigns of its mildest and most generous princes, in such an advantageous light ! It is true, Trajan and the Antonines were among the best of the emperors. But what could the best emperors do in such a corrupted state ! These princes did what they could to alleviate the miseries of the people, and make their chains more easy. But the time to set things on a right footing was past ; tyranny was rivetted ; all that could be done was only to moderate its fury. It was impossible to redress the grievances of an injured and oppressed world, sinking of itself by the depravity of its manners, and ripening fast for that destruction which at length was brought upon it by the inroads of the barbarous nations.

It is the opinion of one of the greatest modern authors, * That “ all extensive governments, especially absolute monarchies, are destructive to populousness, and contain a secret vice and poison.” The maxim is infallibly true, and what our author † has allowed concerning enormous cities, “ That they are destructive to society, beget vice and disorder of all kinds, starve the remoter provinces, and even starve themselves,” may be affirmed with better reason of enormous and overgrown governments, especially if they are absolute monarchies.

In particular, this maxim will be found true,

* The author of *L'esprit des Loix*, livre 23, chap. 19.

† P. 183.

with respect to the Roman monarchy, which was one of the most destructive and tyrannical that can well be imagined. Where do we read of such genuine and undisguised tyrants, as among the Roman emperors? Where can we find so great folly, madness, or cruelty, as appears in the characters and conduct of the immediate successors of Augustus? Nay, what was this celebrated Augustus himself, but a most cruel and treacherous subverter of the liberties of his country, who proscribed and cut off the best and most worthy of the Romans; stopping at nothing, however wicked and unjust, to raise himself to the sovereign power; and afterwards betaking himself to more popular and moderate councils, rather from cunning and fear of Roman bravery, and a dread even of the faint remainder of the antient spirit, as his character gives us just title to presume, than out of love to Rome? But he and his more immediate successors quite extinguished the Roman spirit and liberty. So that before the milder and more moderate emperors came to the helm, oppression and tyranny had been so deeply rooted, such cruelties had been exercised in Rome the conquered provinces had been accustomed to such a slavish subjection, that the best princes could only give a little ease to the distressed people during their own time; but could never prevent the fatal effects of such an absolute and arbitrary power, exercised without any legal check or controul, by the emperor's ministers and fa-

vourites in Rome, and by their emissaries who were commissioned to the provinces.

From whence can we imagine so arbitrary and despotic an empire could produce such a populousness, as surpassed whatever had been seen in more ancient times? Is it from the contemplation of such a government in itself, and of the consequences naturally flowing from its forms and constitution? In all despotic governments, whether under a Turkish or Roman emperor, or under such milder tyrants, as, though unlimited by the people, sometimes deign to set limits to themselves; peace commonly degenerates into indolence; order is nothing but the dread of the tyrant's power; as there is little security, industry seldom flourishes: nay, it is dangerous for any to be active or eminent, lest they become suspected, or awaken the jealousy or avarice either of the tyrant or of his ministers. But how can populousness be expected in nations destitute of industry and activity!

Or is it from the happy influence of other despotic governments, that we would conclude the Roman empire to have been so extremely populous? Where are such examples to be found? or where can an instance be produced, from whence it will appear, that the number of the people actually increased under such an empire?

Or can we draw such a conclusion from the accounts that are given us by those authors who lived under the Roman empire? The best autho-

rities and sounder testimonies are on the other side, and represent both Italy and the provinces as in a declining state. We scarce need any stronger proofs of this, than what our author himself hath observed in his Political Discourse: for he hath admitted, * That though “all ancient authors tell us, that there was a perpetual flux of slaves to Italy from the remoter provinces,—yet the number of people increased not in Italy; and writers complain of the continual decay of industry and agriculture.” He hath also taken notice, † That “there was much land uncultivated, and put to no manner of use” in the days of Pertinax; and that it was ascribed as a great praise to this emperor, that “he allowed every one to take such land, either in Italy, or elsewhere, and cultivate it as he pleased, without paying any taxes.” He acknowledges likewise, “That this corresponds very ill with an idea of extreme populousness.” Now, the age of Pertinax approached very near to that period of antiquity which he pitches on as most populous; for Pertinax succeeded after the short reign of Commodus, the son of Antoninus Philosophus. He hath further remarked from Vopiscus, ‡ that “there was in Etruria much fertile land uncultivated, which the Emperor Aurelian intended to convert into vineyards, in order to furnish the Roman people with a gratuitous distribution of

* P. 168.

† P. 238, 239.

‡ P. 239.

wine :” and confesses, that this was “ a very proper expedient to dispeople still farther that capital, and all the neighbouring territories.” He hath also admitted, that “ when the Roman authors complain, that Italy, which formerly exported corn, became dependent on all the provinces for its daily bread, they never ascribe this alteration to the increase of its inhabitants, but to the neglect of tillage and agriculture.” * Why therefore should we imagine such superior populousness to have arisen from the Roman empire? If Italy itself declined in every thing that was good, what may we imagine was the case of the provinces, wasted and plundered by rapacious governors?

Besides these documents of the languishing state of Italy, taken from our author himself, we have a strong proof of the declension of the world, and of the comparative scarcity of mankind under the Roman empire, from the testimony of Plutarch, † an author who had the best opportunities of being well acquainted both with Grecian and Roman affairs. Indeed Mr Hume excepts both to the treatise in which this testimony is contained, on suspicion that it is not the genuine work of Plutarch; ‡ and also to the man-

* P. 253.

† “ De oraculorum defectu.”

‡ Whatever suspicions our author may have entertained, that this little piece was not the genuine production of Plutarch, it has all the appearance of an ancient work. According to Suidas, (on the word *Lamprias*), Lamprias, the son of Plutarch, composed a

ner in which Plutarch has declared his opinion. But neither exception seems well founded.

The passage in Plutarch may be interpreted to signify pretty much what our author would have it, * “ that the silence of the oracles may be ascribed to the present desolation of the world, proceeding from former wars and factions ; which common calamity was more sensibly felt in Greece than in any other country, insomuch that the whole could scarce at present furnish out 3000 warriors, such as were sent to the battle of Plataea by the single city of Megara ; the gods therefore, who affect works of dignity and importance, have suppressed many of their oracles, and deign not to use so many interpreters of their will to so diminutive a people.” †

Here we have a clear and express testimony, that there was a remarkable scarcity of people in the age of Plutarch, in comparison of more ancient times ; and that this was especially sensibly felt in Greece. ‡ Indeed Plutarch has not ex-

catalogue of his father’s writings. Which catalogue has been published several times, particularly by Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca Græca*. In it mention is made of the treatise, “ De oraculorum defectu :” nor is that variety of opinions, which appears among the persons who are introduced as speakers in this dialogue, nor the difference between their opinions, and the opinions which prevail at present, a sufficient ground on which we ought to call in question its authenticity.

* P. 257.

† “ De oraculorum defectu,” p. 413, 414.

‡ Polit. Disc. p. 256, 257.

pressly assigned the extensive dominion of the Romans for the cause of this scarcity, but ascribes it to the former wars and factions: all which, Mr Hume says, were quieted by the Roman arms.

But it is plain, first, that whatever Plutarch imagined was the cause of this depopulation of the world, his testimony concerning the truth of the fact is most express. Secondly, that however much he might have been convinced, that this was owing to the Roman empire, he had good reasons not to attack the Romans directly, or to ascribe the destruction of the world to Roman power. As he had lived long at Rome, had been well used by the Romans, and not a little favoured by one of the emperors, he might not have thought it proper, perhaps it might not have been safe, it might have looked like sedition, to assign the Roman empire for a cause of the decay of the world. He had reason therefore to express himself only in general terms; but we have no reason to suppose, that he had no view to those wars, by which the Romans subdued the world. These wars had been more destructive than any other. Those among the free states of Greece, and those between the tribes in Gaul and Spain often indeed let a little blood, sometimes perhaps pretty plentifully; but on the whole, did not do any very considerable harm: at least they were not near so destructive either as those other wars, in which the Romans with an unre-

lenting hand destroyed the Italian states and the nations in Gaul and Spain ; or as the many bloody battles which were fought for power and dominion among their leaders, and which equally affected themselves, and the provinces and states they had conquered, viz. those between Marius and Sylla, between Cæsar and Pompey, between Cæsar and the remaining chiefs of the republican party, between those who put Cæsar to death and the Triumvirate, and between Antony and Octavianus. Compared with these more destructive wars, the former wars among the free states were but little skirmishes ; accordingly, while there were no other, Greece and the other provinces abounded in people. In truth, the most pernicious effect which attended them, seems to have been the disunion of these lesser states among themselves ; for, by these divisions, all of them, in their different turns, fell a prey to Roman tyranny. It is scarce to be believed, that Plutarch had no view to such destructive wars, when he reflected on the destruction of the world, and the desolation of his country. I cannot therefore agree with our author in thinking, * “ that Plutarch’s reasoning is directly contrary to the inference which is drawn from the fact he advances,” since he does not exclude the wars, by which the Romans wasted the world. But though he had been mistaken in assigning the reasons of the

* P. 257.

fact, this would not invalidate the truth of the fact itself, which he affirms so expressly, and which indeed is so well established from all the histories of those times.

Again, when Plutarch observes, that the calamitous desolation of the world was more sensibly felt in Greece than in any other country, it is not necessary to understand him, as if he meant to assert, that the Greeks were in a worse condition, or were more cruelly treated by the Romans than other conquered nations. This seems to be the sense in which our author understands his words. But they are capable of this other interpretation, "that as the Greeks had been so numerous in preceding ages, had flourished so much, and had shewed themselves so far superior to the Barbarians, their present depopulation was more evident, more remarkable, and more sensibly felt." Indeed when we reflect upon the flourishing condition of Greece in antient times; on the number of fine cities with which it abounded; on the politeness, learning, and freedom of spirit, which so essentially distinguished its inhabitants from the rest of mankind; we must necessarily confess, that Plutarch's observation is still true; and that the destruction, in which any of those states that flourished most of old are involved, is most remarkable, and most sensibly felt in Greece even at this day.

Nor is it necessary with our author to interpret Plutarch so strictly, as if there had been at that

time only 3000 men in all Greece able to bear arms. Nothing more can be intended, than that the Greeks were dwindled into a diminutive nation, in comparison of what they had been formerly; and that in all their cities there were not perhaps 3000 good soldiers, such as the single city of Megara could have furnished in the Median war.* Thus Plutarch's testimony is cleared from those difficulties which had so much perplexed our author. †

These testimonies of Plutarch and Diodorus are so full and express, and conclude so strongly against the happy influence of the Roman empire, that our author will not be found to have brought any thing so weighty on the other side: for we ought never to put the loose and rhetorical declamations of such a fiery passionate author as Tertullian ‡ or the flattering oration of the so-

* The word *ὀπλιστῆς* which is used by Plutarch, signifies such as were completely armed, or carried the heaviest arms, in whom the ancients placed their greatest confidence.

† This testimony of Plutarch, concerning the superior populousness of Greece and other ancient nations, before the establishment of the Roman empire, is exactly agreeable to what we observed from Diodorus Siculus, p. 35th of the Dissertation.

‡ In the treatise, *De Anima*, cap. 30. Tertullian seems to have no intention of comparing the populousness of the world, under the Roman empire, with that of the period of antiquity which immediately preceded it, while the smaller republics were subsisting. The comparison is made between the age in which Tertullian lived, and the first ages, while mankind were wandering up and down in an unsettled, barbarous, and uncultivated manner, before

phist Aristides,* in balance with the more cool and sedate judgment of Plutarch.

Great regard indeed would be due to Strabo, Polybius, and Pliny, if their authority could be quoted, to support what our author infers from Tertullian and Aristides. But when the passages to which he refers are duly considered, this will be found not to be the case.

As for Strabo, it is evident, that in several places of his geography he takes notice, how much some mighty states were decayed in his age, and how much the number of their citi-

governments were regularly formed, or firmly established. The argument he is treating, requires no more than that mankind should have increased greatly, and were much more numerous at that time, than at the beginning; which he observes was true, even according to profane history: and for this reason he argues, that since mankind have multiplied so greatly above what they were at first, and their numbers are so unequal in different ages, the living could not be produced from the dead, but a new soul must be produced at the formation of each body. Such an argument has no relation to the Roman empire, but would have been equally good at any other period removed at a distance from the first ages.

* This oration, or encomium upon Rome and the Roman empire, may justly be called flattering; for the sophist seems to have aimed at no other thing, but to disparage antiquity, and prefer every thing in the Roman empire, to every thing that preceded. However, he does not, either in the passage quoted by our author, or in any other part of his declamation, so far as I have observed, directly mention a greater populousness; but, though he had done it, the manner and visible design of the whole piece, is sufficient to shew how little stress is to be laid on his opinion concerning the advantages of the Roman empire.

zens was diminished.* This ought to have more weight, and is a clearer proof of his opinion on this subject, than a few passages, in which he pays a slight compliment to that empire under which he lived. For all that he observes in his Fourth Book concerning those Gauls who lived in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, is only, that the superior power of the Romans had obliged some of the Barbarians to lay aside their arms, and to betake themselves to agriculture and the arts of peace.

As to what Mr Hume observes concerning “the superior police of the Romans, with regard to the finances of Egypt, above that of its former monarchs,”† it is evident indeed from that passage of Strabo which he cites, that the revenues of Egypt amounted to a far larger sum than they had done in former times. But this is no certain sign, that the people were richer or more happy. This might, and in all probability did arise from hence, that the people of Egypt were burdened with more grievous taxes. Perhaps this was the reason, why “the town Mareia near Alexandria, which was formerly a large city, had dwindled into a village:” which our author observes‡ from Athenæus (lib. 1. cap. 25.)

Neither can it be proved from Strabo and Polybius, that the Greeks were well treated by the

* Dissertation, p. 35, 36.

† Polit. Disc. p. 255.

‡ P. 255.

Romans.* In reality, there was nothing but artifice and affectation in their seeming moderation. The Romans were not only a warlike people, but managed with much art and address. In odious cases, or when their interest, or the necessity of their affairs required it, no people could better cover their oppression with specious appearances, or more dexterously affect to be gentle and equitable. They affected in particular an uncommon regard for the Greeks, and pretended to leave them in possession of their former laws and liberty. This is sometimes taken notice of by Strabo, Polybius, and other historians, who lived under their empire. But at bottom there was nothing sincere, as will be evident from the whole of their conduct taken together. 'Tis true, Polybius was able, by his interest with some of the great men of Rome, to alleviate the afflictions of his country, and to settle some good regulations, after the Achæans were subdued.† Yet Greece was reduced to a Roman province, and governed by the arbitrary will of a Roman Prætor; in which state it continued till the reign of Nero,‡ who either through the advice of some of the good men who governed him in the beginning of his reign, or in some of his capricious humours afterwards, restored it to its liberty, or rather to an empty name of liberty. However, empty as it was, the Greeks were not suffered to

* Polit. Disc. p. 257.

† Pausanias in Achaicis.

‡ Ibidem.

enjoy it long, being soon reduced to their former subjection by Vespasian. And though after the destruction of Corinth, and the settlement of the affairs of Achaia, they enjoyed a little respite from war; this was only a breathing time. Greece, like all the Roman provinces, was soon involved in all the calamities which attend a conquered people. What liberty was allowed the conquered nations, to live according to their own laws, and observe their ancient institutions, was only a shadow without the substance. The good effects of such a permission were far overbalanced by the oppression under the Roman governors. In short, the Romans were slaves themselves; and can we imagine the conquered provinces could have been in a better condition?

The Grecian states fell into a languishing condition from the æra of Philip's and Alexander's conquests. So fatal is the influence of a neighbouring monarchy, governed by able councils, when it intermeddles in the affairs of popular states, and, by raising up factions among them, sets them in opposition to one another. It was thus that Philip weakened the states of Greece, and laid the foundation of their ruin. But they declined far more speedily and remarkably after the Roman conquests. It would therefore be not a little surprising, if so able and judicious a historian as Polybius should be found supposing that "Greece had become more prosperous and

flourishing after the establishment of the Roman yoke.* The passage referred to is so far from proving their riches or populousness, that it is introduced by Polybius to prove their poverty, and that all the goods of Peloponnesus were not worth 6000 talents, or 1,162,500*l*. Polybius's words are ; " For not to speak of those times, in which the affairs of Peloponnesus were entirely ruined, partly by the kings of Macedon, but chiefly by a series of civil wars : even in our days, in which all the states live in peace and good agreement, and imagine themselves to be so entirely happy, so great a sum (as 6000 talents) could not be made up out of all their goods, abstracting from the bodies," † meaning the price of the inhabitants, if they were sold for slaves. From which it is evident that Polybius is comparing, not the condition of Greece before the days of Philip, with its condition in his own age ; but the troubled and unsettled state of Peloponnesus during the Achæan wars, with that short breathing time it enjoyed, when these wars had just ceased. It is natural for a people to think themselves very happy in the enjoyment of peace after destructive wars. This is all which is said by Polybius. For he is far from supposing, that the Greeks were happier, richer, or more populous, than they had been before the days of

* Political Discour. p. 257.

† Lib. 2.

Philip the father of Alexander. How can we imagine that such a supposition would be found in a writer, who not only knew that a Roman army had ravaged Achaia, and dissolved the Achæan league, but was himself an eye-witness of the barbarous destruction of Corinth?*

As for the passages quoted from Pliny, one of them rather makes against our author's hypothesis; for in it Pliny gives the preference to the ancient world.† He admits indeed, that the Roman empire had produced greater inequality of

* Strabo, lib. 8.

† " Illud satis mirari non queo, interisse quarundem memoriam; atque etiam nominum, quæ auctores prodidere, notitiam. Quis enim non communicato orbe terrarum, majestate Romani imperii profecisse vitam putet commercio rerum ac societate festæ pacis, omniaque etiam quæ occulta ante fuerant, in promiscuo usu facta? At hercule non reperiuntur qui norunt multa ab antiquis prodita: tanto priscorum cura fertilior, aut industria felicior fuit, ante milia annorum inter principia literarum Hesiodo præcepto agricolis pandere orso, subsecutisque non paucis hanc curam ejus, unde nobis crevit labor. Quippe cum requirenda sint non solum postea inventa, verum etiam ea quæ invenerant prisci, desidia inter necione rerum memoriæ inducta, cujus somni causas quis alias quam publicas mundi invenerit? Nimirum alii subiere ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum detinentur, et avaritiæ tantum artes coluntur. Antea inclusis gentium imperiis intra ipsas, ideoque et ingeniis, quadam sterilitate fortunæ, necesse erat animi bona exercere: regesque innumeri honore artium colebantur, et in ostentatione has præferebant, opem et immortalitatem sibi per illas prorogari arbitantes. Quare abundabant et præmia et opera vitæ. Posteris laxitas mundi et rerum amplitudo damno fuit, postquam senator censu legi cœptus, judex fieri censu, magistratum

fortune, greater riches, a more general peace, and had opened a more free communication among the nations. But his expressions are far from insinuating, that it had done service upon the whole, either by making men more happy, virtuous, or numerous, or by advancing the best and noblest arts of life. On the contrary, he takes notice, that it had introduced greater luxury and vice; and, which ought especially to be remarked, had made riches so necessary, that a family was esteemed a burden and a disadvantage, as it increased expense; and that the want of children, by lessening expense, added a dignity, and gave greater power and influence. An author of these sentiments cannot be supposed to have believed, that the Roman empire produced greater numbers of people than the ancient governments.

ducemque nil magis exornare quam census: postquam cœpere orbitas in auctoritate summa et potentia esse, captatio in quæstu fertilissimo, ac sola gaudia in possidendo; pessum iere vitæ pretia: omnesque a maximo bono liberales dictæ artes in contrarium cecidere, ac servitute sola profici cæptum: hanc alius alio modo, et in aliis adorare, eodem tamen habendi quo eat spes omnium tendente voto. Passim vero etiam egregii aliena vitia quam bona sua colere malle. Ergo hercule voluptas vivere cœpit, vita ipsa desiit. Sed nos oblitterata quoque scrutabimur.” *Plin. Nat. Hist. 14. in præmio.*

As the expression, “*voluptas vivere cœpit, vita ipsa desiit,*” signifies, that the true taste of living was lost by the prevalence of sensuality; if Pliny intended to signify further, that voluptuousness abridged the term of human life, he could not be of opinion, that these latter refinements were favourable to populousness.

As to the other passage* quoted by our author, it proves nothing but the vanity of the Romans, who called the slavish subjection of the world to their empire humanity, and *cultior vitæ usus*, imagining, like so many among the moderns, that their own times and manners were preferable to all that had gone before them. But neither from the contemplation of the nature and forms of their government, nor from the history of the times, will this appear to be the truth. On the contrary, the destruction of the world seems greatly owing to the ruin of the smaller governments, and the establishment of the Roman empire.

* “Terra omnium terrarum alumna eadem et parens, numine Deum electa, quæ cælum ipsum clarius faceret, sparsa congregaret imperia, ritusque molliret: et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia, et humanitatem homini daret, breviterque una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret.” *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

PART II.

SECTION II.

The humour of blaming the past, and admiring the present, is strongly rooted in human nature, and has an influence even on persons endued with the profoundest judgment and most extensive learning. Custom gives sanction to those manners which are most common, though perhaps the most ridiculous, and makes it difficult to form unprejudiced opinions concerning them. Do not mankind generally prefer the opinions, the arts, and the manners of the age in which they live, to all others? Whether this inclination arises from vanity, or from a weakness and narrowness of mind, which renders it difficult for us to form distinct conceptions of distant ages, and of manners different from our own; the inclination itself is visible. It was thus that the Romans imagined their empire had been serviceable to mankind; it is thus that so many among the moderns conceive so favourably of the benefits

arising from trade and manufactures, as if in all cases, without exception, they contributed no less to render the world populous, than to add to the commodiousness of life. But in truth it will be found, that there may be such an extensive trade, and such a variety of manufactures, as will render the world less populous, and prevent the increase of mankind.

This argument has been partly considered already, and the effects of simplicity and refinement set forth in the Dissertation; * however, as it is a material part of the question, it will be proper to add a few other strokes, to obviate any objections that have been suggested in the Political Discourse.

By such a simplicity of life and manners, as is maintained to be favourable to populousness, is to be understood, not a savage fierceness or barbarity, or a total ignorance of arts, such as prevailed in the rude beginnings of nations, before societies were regularly formed, but such as is consistent with many improvements, nay, supposes the most necessary arts to be brought to a good degree of perfection. It is such a simplicity as actually obtained among many ancient nations, when every family carefully cultivated its own little field, and mankind were almost wholly employed in agriculture, and its attendant arts, being little acquainted with trade or merchan-

* P. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

dise, and entirely strangers to luxury or magnificence in living.

It would not be difficult to show, that such a simplicity of life and manners would make a nation more virtuous, and by consequence more happy. But the debate does not turn on this point, nor do we inquire which of the two states, the simple or the refined, is most eligible in itself, or most suited to our taste at present, after we have been acquainted with the more refined; or which method is most effectual to inspire a slothful barbarous people in the neighbourhood of an opulent luxurious commercial nation, with the love of industry. The only question is, whether simplicity or refinement renders a country most populous? and whether a nation already addicted to pasturage and agriculture (as many of the ancient nations were) must not be more numerous by their industry of this kind, than most other commercial nations by their extensive trade and operose manufactures?

Now, viewing things in this light, the examples our author brings of ancient simplicity, viz. that the only garb of the ancients, both for males and females, was very simple;* that the city of Athens was fully as populous before the Median war, as at any time after it; that its citizens applied themselves to pasturage and agriculture, avoided an extensive trade, and were

* Political Discourses, p. 205.

averse from long and distant voyages ; * that the interest of money was high ; † and the profits of trade great ; ‡ that the navigation of the ancients was very imperfect ; || that their commerce consisted chiefly in the exchange of those commodities, for which different soils and climates were suited ; § and that the ancient republics had a great resemblance to Switzerland, where there are the worst artists, and the least commerce, but the best agriculture in Europe.** These, and other examples of this sort, not only make nothing against the hypothesis of the Dissertation, but also prove in a remarkable manner, that simplicity obtained in ancient times ; and that the industry which was among the ancients, was chiefly directed, not towards the improvement and cultivation of manufactures, but to the most necessary arts, and in particular to the provision of food. So that this simplicity, and this sort of industry, must have been effectual to produce greater numbers of people.

It is true, that our manufactures, and all our more commodious methods of carrying on a more extensive trade, employ a great many hands. Were we to strike them all off at once, it would

* Political Discourses, p. 205.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid, p. 206.

|| Ibid, p. 207.

§ Ibid.

** Ibid. p. 185, 208.

give a great check to every kind of business and labour, and cause multitudes of families to perish by want.* nor could we all of a sudden supply the place of these later inventions. But this proceeds wholly from our present customs and police; if other customs and another taste prevailed, we could gradually supply their places, and employ such hands as would be rendered idle, in a manner much more useful for multiplying our people, viz. in agriculture, and arts subservient to the provision of food, by which means we would both purchase more useful and substantial wealth, and distribute it in a more equitable manner.

If the ancients had been either idle, or as much ignorant of agriculture, as they were of many of our improvements in trade and manufactures, our author's reasoning would be good. But this was not the case; they were both well skilled in agriculture, and it was their chief employment.*

* Political Discourses, p. 210.

† Besides the quotations from Columella, Cato, and Xenophon, in the Dissertation, p. 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, there is a passage in Pliny, which shews his sense of the state of agriculture among the ancients.

“Dona amplissima imperatorum ac fortium civium, quantum quis uno die plurimum circumaravisset. Item quartarii farris aut heminæ conferente populo. Cognomina etiam prima inde.—Fabiorum, Lentulorum, Ciceronum, ut quisque aliquod optime genus sereret. Juniorum familiæ Bubulcum nominaverunt, qui bubus optime utebatur. Agrum male colere, censorium probum judicabatur.—Hinc et locupletes dicebant, loci, hoc est, agri plenos. Pecunia ipsa a pecore appellabatur. Etiam nunc in

Our author indeed seems to be of opinion,* that agriculture was but little known in the age of Xenophon, and represents Xenophon, as if he had said, that every man may be a farmer; that no art or skill is requisite; and that all consists in industry and attention to the execution. But Xenophon means only to say, what is certainly true, that agriculture is not so hard to learn as

tabulis censoriis pascua dicuntur omnia, ex quibus populus reditus habet, quia diu hoc solum vectigal fuerat.---Rusticæ tribus laudatissimæ eorum qui rura haberent. Urbanæ vero, in quas transferri ignominia esset, desidia probro:---Ergo iis moribus non modo sufficiebant fruges, nulla provinciarum pascente Italian, verum etiam *annonæ vilitas incredibilis erat*.---Quænam ergo tantæ ubertatis causa erat? ipsorum tunc manibus imperatorum colebantur agri (ut fas est credere), gaudente terra vomere laureato et triumphali aratore: sive illi eadem cura semina tractabant, qua bella, eademque diligentia arva disponebant qua castra: sive honestis manibus omnia lætius proveniunt, quoniam et curiosius fiunt.---At nunc eadem illa, vincti pedes, damnatæ manus, inscripti vultus exercent: non tamen surda tellure, quæ parens appellatur, colique dicitur et ipsa honore hinc assumpto, ut nunc invita ea, et indigne ferente credatur id fieri. Sed nos miramur ergastulorum non eadem emolumenta esse quæ fuerunt imperatorum. Igitur de cultura agri præcipere principale fuit et apud exteros. Siquidem et reges fecere, Hiero, Philometor, Attalus, Archelaus: et duces Xenophon, et Poenus etiam Mago.---Câto---D. Syllanus---M. Varro---Qui octogesimum primum vitæ annum agens de ea re prodendum putavit." *Nat. Hist.* lib. 18. cap. 3.

"Quippe sermo circa rura est, agrestesque usus, sed quibus vita honosque apud præcōs maximus fuerit." *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. 18. cap. 1.

See also cap. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8.

* P. 209.

the other arts, to which long apprenticeships must be served, before one can practise them in perfection; and that partly by looking upon the labourers, partly by verbal instructions, one may soon know it so well, as even to teach it to another. So far is Xenophon from thinking, that no art or skill is requisite to make a farmer, that, on the contrary, he asserts not only, that agriculture is an art, but that one must be skilful in it, if he would have good crops. And from the manner of treating this subject in the *Œconomics*, it is evident, how much agriculture was studied by the wiser and more learned part of mankind in the age of Xenophon.

Neither can Mr Hume rightly infer,* from the account Polybius † gives of the numerous herds of swine in Italy, which frequently consisted of more than a thousand, that the north of Italy was then much less peopled, and worse cultivated than at present. For it evidently appears from the passage of Polybius itself, that these herds were extremely tame, and obedient to their keepers, who had accustomed them at the sound of an horn to run immediately each to his own keeper, and to follow him in an orderly manner. Hence, though they had no separate pastures, and though different herds mixed together, they might easily have been kept from doing harm, since the swine-herds had them so

* P, 239, 240.

† Lib. 12.

much under command. This relation, so far from "having the air of that œconomy which is to be met with in our American colonies," or pointing out an uncultivated country, gives us reason to presume, that the peasants of those days employed about every thing that concerned agriculture, an art and industry unknown at present in European countries. And we may easily conceive, that many methods might have been invented for preserving their fields, however much they were improved by agriculture: in particular, they might have been secured by a proper division of the farms, and by defending them with inclosures. In short, the herds of swine in those days, according to Polybius's description of them, might have been as easily hindered from straggling and from destroying inclosures, as the numerous flocks of sheep which are fed in Britain at present.

In Italy, in France, and in many other countries supposed to be civilized and cultivated, hogs are still collected and fed in numerous herds. Swine are gregarious animals.*

It is of such importance in the question, concerning the populousness of antiquity, to shew the true state and condition of agriculture, and the extent to which it had arrived in ancient times, that our author has endeavoured to confirm his hypothesis by another argument, which

* Buffon.

having been brought by a celebrated French critic, in support of his own theory, Mr Hume hath, with great ingenuity, * applied it to the present subject, and endeavoured to prove by it, that the earth was worse cultivated in ancient than in modern times. It has been observed by L'Abbe du Bos, that Italy is warmer in the present age than it was formerly. Mr Hume would extend this observation to other European climates, and account for this greater warmth of the seasons, by supposing that Italy, Gaul, and other countries are better cultivated, and therefore more populous than they were in antient times.

Tillage and hedges are, in agriculture, the causes by which warmth is chiefly increased; fires, and of course populousness, or towns, villages, and farms, promote it.

But is it certain, that either Italy, or other southern parts of Europe, are warmer than they were antiently; or, though they be warmer, is it a just consequence, that for this reason they must be better cultivated, and more populous than they were in antient times?

As the antients take notice of rigorous winters, which happened in some particular years, destroyed the trees, and caused rivers to freeze even in warmer climates, some such extraordinary severe seasons still continue to happen in the same countries, perhaps once in a century or oftener.

* P. 243, &c.

A. C. 401, the * sea is said to have been frozen during 20 days. If this relates to the Euxine Sea, the whole of it lies between 42 and 46 degrees of latitude, and its northern banks are a degree farther south than the middle parts of France. But whatever sea is understood, we have undoubted evidence, that in the eighth century, about the 23d year of Constantinus Copronymus, there was so great a frost at Constantinople, which lies in about 41 degrees of latitude, and is farther south than the most southern point in France, that the Euxine Sea was covered with ice in some places 100 miles from the shore; and that the ice was so strong, as to carry men and all other kinds of animals. Theophanes, who lived at that time, says, that he was an eye-witness of the mountains of ice which came rolling down by Constantinople; and that this frost was felt not only in that country, but in the northern, eastern, and western regions. †

A. C. 821, the rivers in Europe were frozen so hard, as to bear loaded waggons for 30 days together. ‡

The climate of a country, Pontus, which pro-

* It is called the Euxine Sea in the Universal History, lately published; but the *Chronic. Alexand. ad ann. Christi 401*, which is quoted for attesting this event, calls it only the sea.

† Theophan. Chronograph. ad ann. Constant. 23.

‡ “Hiems sævissima fuit hoc anno, adeo ut fluvii Europæ glaciæ constricti plaustra onusta plusquam tricenis diebus ferrent.” *Calvisius ad ann. 821*.

duced cherries naturally, a fruit so excellent that Lucullus thought it worthy of being transplanted to Italy, could not be bad. Ovid, a debauchee, was old at writing his strictures on it.*

But to come to modern times, in the year 1709, the frost was so severe, as to destroy many vegetables, not only in the northern, but also in the southern parts of Europe. Even in Italy, most of the lemon-trees, and orange-trees, and a great many olive-trees, perished. Birds and insects were destroyed in vast numbers; nay, many cattle, and even several men, perished in the fields with cold. Mention is made of 60 near Paris, of some at Venice, and of 80 soldiers near Namur. Some died aboard the ships that were on the coast of Italy; and several lost parts of their fingers and their toes. Rivers were frozen in England, in Denmark, in Germany, in France, and in Italy; nay, the sea itself on the coasts of Genoa and of Leghorn.† However, notwithstanding the ri-

* Ovid accounts for the freezing of the Euxine from the great number of large rivers which run into it, and which render its water both fresher and lighter than that of the ocean, and even something different in colour. *Ex Ponto*, IV. 10. 45. &c. *Val. Flac. argonaut.* IV. 721.

For some days preceding the 13th of January 1787, the country and the mountains in the neighbourhood of Naples were covered with snow, and after the snow they had frost. *London Chronicle*, 13—18. Feb. 1787.

† Jones's Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, from 1700 to 1720, Vol. I. part 2. p. 113. &c. *Varnierii Prad. Rustic.* VIII.

gour of this season, the frost in the year 1684, as it continued longer, is thought to have been more severe. * In short, there appears no good reason to believe, that there have not been as rigorous winters in modern, as were in ancient ages.

Ovid's delicate nerves seem to have been uncommonly susceptible of cold: he calls Sulmo, his native town, not a hundred miles from Rome, *Sulmonis gelidi*. *Fast.* IV. 81. Sulmona is nearly of the same latitude with Rome. †

Supposing geography to be as imperfect as it was in the days of Strabo, and a writer who was born in Sicily, Greece, or the south of Italy, and was accustomed to the warmth of these countries, to describe the climate of Gaul, and of the northern parts of Europe, it is scarce to be doubted, but he would do it much in the same manner, as Diodorus Siculus or Varro hath done. Suppose also that he had been banished from his native country to the western banks of the Euxine Sea, and was in as melancholy a humour, and endued with as lively and as poetical a genius as Ovid; suppose him to sit down to bemoan his unhappy fate, to paint the wretchedness of his lot, and lament his banishment from his country; it is probable that he would give as dismal ac-

* Ibid p. 117. In this cold winter, the waters of the Thames were frozen to so great depth, that booths were erected, fires lighted, and meat dressed on the river.

† Tacitus, Ann. XIII. 35.

counts of the climate, as Ovid has given us of that of Tomi.*

In April 1779, it snowed in Cyprus, and even at Bagdat. In Cyprus the snow lay four inches deep; at Bagdat it was about a foot.

Vaniero, † who was born near Baziers, and who lived near Toulouse, represents Auvergne to be a cold country.

Neither will it appear, that the temperature of climates has been altered by the culture of the earth, from what our author quotes from Strabo, ‡ “that north of the Cevennes, Gaul produces not figs or olives; and that the vines planted there, bear not grapes that ripen;” || for fruits are

* Our author (p. 245,) quotes Mr Tournefort to attest the fineness of this climate, in opposition to Ovid. But this gentleman does not appear to have been so far north as Tomi, and seems to have seen only the southern coasts of the Euxine Sea. Besides, in his description of that part of the coast, from the mouth of the Euxine, as far as Sinope, he confesses, he never saw it but in the finest season of the year; from which, and from some preceding observations of the excessive frosts of modern times, it will appear, that Ovid’s description does not prove, that the antient seasons were colder than those still felt in our days.

The bad humour, the low spirits, the gloomy views, with which his mind was overwhelmed, diffused their infectious temperature over all the surrounding objects. *Treat. of Human Nature*, II. 4.

Hesiodi, Of. et D. II. 123—155. It snows annually about Tomi. See *Bell’s Travels*.

† Præd. Rustic. 8.

‡ P. 244.

|| The Massilians, a colony of Phocians, soon after the building of Marseilles, taught the Gauls to rear olives, and to cultivate vines. *Justin*, l. 43. c. iv.

In Herodotus’s time, they had not got vines even in Egypt, lib.

very different from corn, and from other things which are necessary for the subsistence of man—Hence, while corn-fields were richly cultivated, the culture of fruits might have made a slow progress from one country to another: so that the want of them might have been owing, not to want of heat, but often to the neglect of the inhabitants, and to their particular customs and opinions. The Emperor Domitian published an edict, forbidding any more vines to be planted in Italy, and commanding many which had been already planted in the provinces to be immediately rooted up.* Near 200 years after, the emperor Probus allowed the Gauls, the Pannonians, the Spaniards, and the Britons, to cultivate the vine,† a privilege which they seem not to have fully enjoyed since the time of Domitian; nay, he employed his soldiers, in time of peace, in planting vine-

ii. And Pliny says, that they could not raise cherries there. XV. 25.

Assyria alone, a fertile land, reckoned equivalent to one half of all the other parts of Asia, produced the best wheat in the world; but Herodotus says, that the vine, the olive, and the fig, were never seen in that country, II.

Pliny relates, that Elico, who, in an early age, during which the Alps were supposed to form an impassable barrier, went from Switzerland to Rome, to learn the business of a carpenter, or a smith; on returning to his own country, transported the fig, the grape, oil, and wine, XII. 2. and that the Gauls were first allured by that incident to descend into Italy.

* Philostrat. vit. Apoll. Tyan. lib. 6. cap. 17.

† Vopiscus in Prob. Eutrop. lib. 9. cap. 17.

yards. When peaches were first propagated in Italy and in France, it surprised the world, that they could be brought to perfection out of Persia.* Besides, the richness of fruits does not always depend upon the heat of the climate. Those grapes, which yield the most delicious wines that France affords, are produced in Burgundy and Champagne, provinces far north of the Cevennes: yet the air of these provinces is neither so warm, nor so cherishing as that of Montpellier. Good figs may be produced 100 miles north of Edinburgh, which Strabo would have thought impossible; and even within the memory of man, how many places in Scotland were thought incapable of producing wheat, and the best sort of oats and barley, where they grow plentifully at present? In short, the production and perfection of fruits and grains depend on many other circumstances besides the warmth of the climate: and no argument can be drawn for less or greater heat, from examples of this kind.

But though it were certain, that Italy, and other southern parts of Europe, are now warmer than they were in former times; as Mr Hume has well observed, † the consequence may not be necessary, that they are better cultivated. For, if the northern countries of Europe were anciently wilder and more woody, the colder winds that

* Peaches are commonly reckoned *indigenæ Persiæ*.

† P. 253, 254.

blowed from them might have affected the southern climates, and made them colder than they are now, after these woods have been felled ; notwithstanding which, they might have been better cultivated and peopled in those ancient times.

PART III.

In the preceding Sections we have endeavoured to demonstrate, that modern institutions and modern manners are far less favourable to populousness, than those which obtained in ancient ages.

Hence it ought not to surprise us, that ancient historians have given accounts of far greater numbers of people than are to be found in modern times. Nor do we seem to have any just title to reject their testimony on this ground, unless there are some other circumstances which render it incredible; nay, the accounts of ancient historians appearing to be such as might be expected, if the hypothesis in the Dissertation was true, serve both to confirm it, and also to render the testimonies themselves more credible.

It is not indeed pretended, that ancient historians have fallen into no mistakes, that some of their computations are not too high, or that there is a perfect agreement among them in every number or minute circumstance. This is not

necessary in an argument, which is not built upon a single testimony or two, but upon a series of them, given by such as lived in successive ages, and in different nations : all which agree in bearing witness to the great populousness of antiquity. Such concurring testimonies of so many authors, sacred and profane, concerning so many countries, cannot be evaded by general insinuations, as if the accounts, by being ridiculous, lost all credit and authority.* Could we indeed demonstrate from a comparison of ancient and modern manners, that modern ages must be more populous than the ancient, we should have reason to reject the most express testimonies : but when either it is quite otherwise, or the matter is at most only rendered doubtful, by arguments which seem to balance one another, we must not hastily reject the testimonies of historians. However, to obviate the force of any objections which have been proposed by Mr Hume, it will be necessary to examine what he has thrown out on this head, and to subjoin some other calculations and authorities from the ancients, besides those which have been already proposed in the Dissertation.

As to Egypt, Theocritus celebrates Ptolomy for commanding 33,339 cities;† an additional proof of the great populousness of this fertile

* Political Discourses, p. 213.

† Idyll. 17. lin. 82.

country in those days. It is true, the number, or rather the manner in which the number is expressed by the poet, is somewhat singular; * but what reason have we to suppose, that this singularity was the reason of assigning it? Theocritus does not seem to have been one of those authors who wrote so loosely. Under the word *cities* the ancients comprehended not only large walled towns, but the more noted villages. Of such cities there were in Egypt no fewer than eighteen or twenty thousand, according to ancient historians. If to these we add the cities of those parts of Phœnicia, Arabia, Syria, Libya, Æthiopia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades, which Ptolomy also commanded, and which are enumerated by Theocritus, we will be disposed to do the poet more justice, and shall see a better reason for the number he hath assigned, than its singularity.† Such methods of expression are common to Theocritus, with Homer, and all other poets.

How can we suppose, with Mr Hume, ‡ that Diodorus would assign no more than three millions of inhabitants to Egypt, when he computes

* Political Discourses, p. 214.

† Τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πολίων ἑκατοντάδες ἐνδεδμηνται,
Τρεῖς δ' ἄρα χιλιάδες τρισσαῖς ἔπι μυριάδεσσι,
Δοιαὶ δὲ τριᾶδες, μετὰ δὲ σφισιν ἑνδεκάδες τρεῖς·
Τῶν πάντων Πτολεμαῖς ἀγάνωρ ἐμβασιλεύει.

Theocr. Idyll. 17. lin. 82.

‡ P. 214.

above 300,000 of free condition in Alexandria alone.* He could not but know, that there were a great many slaves besides. If we suppose them only twice as many, we have a city of near a million, which, according to Mr Hume's interpretation, would contain a third part of all the inhabitants of Egypt. We must not therefore interpret Diodorus in this manner, but must suppose that the three millions he mentions were only the heads of families, or the males who were come to full age; and that all the inhabitants in the time of Diodorus, amounted to twelve millions, which is the hypothesis in the Dissertation.†

If we examine our author's computations, concerning the number of inhabitants in Greece, we shall find not only, that he has reduced their number much below the true account, but also, that his computation has proceeded wholly upon an erroneous foundation.

We may observe in general, that though our author has reduced the whole inhabitants of Greece to a number not much exceeding what may be found at present in Scotland; ‡ yet the Greeks may well be allowed to have been at least as numerous and as powerful a people as the English. The history and atchievements of both nations would lead us to conclude them to have been far superior.

* Lib. 17. Sect. 52. † P. 46. ‡ P. 230.

If we proceed even upon our author's own hypothesis, and compute the number of the Athenians at 284,000,* supposing them to have been even the twentieth part of the Greeks (though they did not possess one twenty-third part of the country)† we shall find they were more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions; a number much greater than that assigned by Mr Hume, viz. 1,380,000.‡ Nay, supposing them to have been the twelfth part of the Greeks (though surely they did not bear so great a proportion) even at this rate the inhabitants of all Greece must have amounted to 3,408,000; a number more than double that of our author. But we cannot suppose, that the territory of Athens was much better inhabited than the other parts of Greece, since it was mountainous, and of course less fertile. Besides, its trade did not much increase the number of its people; for, according to Herodotus, quoted by Mr Hume, § it was as populous before the Median war, as at any time after it.

Again; Mr Hume's computation of the number of the Greeks, by which he makes them to have amounted only to 1,380,000, is founded upon the supposition, that those 230,000 Greeks, by whom Philip of Macedon would have been backed in his intended expedition against Persia,

* Political Discourses, p. 222.

† Dissertation, p. 56.

‡ P. 226, 227, 228. § P. 205.

were all the free citizens throughout all the cities of Greece. But this supposition cannot possibly be true; for it can never be supposed, that Philip either would or could have carried away all the citizens or fighting men of Greece. These 230,000 * were only the auxiliaries which the Grecian states had decreed to Philip for his Persian expedition. It is not probable, they would have decreed more than the fifth part of the citizens; at which rate the citizens in Greece amounted to 1,075,000; the number of free persons to 4,300,000; and supposing thrice as many slaves, the whole inhabitants amounted to 17,200,000. If the forces decreed to Philip made a fourth part, the citizens amounted to 860,000, the number of all the free persons to 3,440,000, and the whole number of the inhabitants to 13,760,000, which is much the same number with that in the Dissertation. †

It ought to be remarked, that the Lacedæmonians, who were one of the most powerful states in Greece, decreed no auxiliaries to Philip, and of course must not be comprehended in the preceding computation; for they would receive no orders from the king, *et legem et regem contempserunt*. Hence the real number of the Greeks must have been greater, than that assigned

* Justin, from whom this computation has been taken, calls them only 200,000 foot, and 15,000 horse, lib. 9, cap. 5.

† P. 57.

above, by the whole number of the Lacedæmonians.

But, to come to our author's computations, with respect to the particular states of Greece.

It is needless to say anything concerning the form or extent of the Greek cities, about which our author has made several ingenious observations.* For our enquiry is not concerning the number of people in a city, but concerning the number of inhabitants in a whole state or territory.

With respect to Athens in particular,† it is allowed, that all the inhabitants within the Athenian territory, who were of free condition, were only 124,000, being the quadruple of the number of 21,000 citizens and 10,000 strangers, mentioned by Athenæus. But Mr Hume will needs understand the 400,000 slaves mentioned by the same author, only of males come to full age; because the 21,000 free citizens, and the 10,000 strangers mentioned in the same passage, can be understood only in this manner. Agreeably to which hypothesis, he computes the slaves at 1,600,000; a number so great, that he imagines its improbability a sufficient reason for rejecting Athenæus's testimony.

* P. 226, 227, 228.

† For the size and the wealth of Athens, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, see Thucydides, b. 2. p. 135 and 136 of Smith's Translation, in 1781.

If it were necessary to interpret the passage of Athenæus in this sense, our author would perhaps have reason to call his authority in question : for, according to this interpretation, the proportion of the slaves to such as were of free condition, must have been more than 12 to 1,* which will be reckoned by far too high. But there is no necessity to understand Athenæus in this sense, or to suppose, that he distinguished the slaves, who were of so little account under the ancient governments, so scrupulously, either as the free citizens who alone had a voice in the public councils, or as the strangers who were so greatly honoured at Athens. It was sufficient if he numbered them *en gros*. When the words of an author will bear it, we ought to interpret them, consistently with truth and probability. The Greek slaves were undoubtedly very numerous ; few citizens wanted slaves altogether ; and many citizens had great numbers. It is said that Timarchus had 10 ; that Lysias and his brother had 60 a-piece ; and that Demosthenes had 52.† It is certain that Nicias had more than a thousand. We may therefore reasonably presume, there were three slaves for every person who was free : but to suppose that they were 12 to 1, is too high an estimate. We must not therefore interpret Athenæus in this manner, without any necessity.

* By some oversight, our author has stated it as 20 to 1, p. 223.

† Political Discourses, p. 223.

If the slaves had been 20, or even 12 to 1, several of our author's arguments, to invalidate the testimony of Athenæus, and to prove that there were not 1,600,000 slaves among the Athenians, might perhaps have been reckoned conclusive: as when he argues, that if there had been so great a number,* it would have been impossible to have kept them from frequent and dangerous insurrections; yet this was very possible, for there was only one commotion, viz. that of the miners;—that there would have been a necessity for a very rigorous military discipline to keep them in awe; yet there was no such necessity: nay, the Athenians treatment of their slaves was extremely gentle and indulgent;—that the desertion of 20,000 during the Decelian war, could not have brought the Athenians to great distress; yet this was actually the case;—and that Xenophon, when he proposed a scheme for entertaining by the public 10,000 slaves, said, “Any one who considers the numbers we had before the Decelian war, will be convinced, that so great a number may possibly be supported;” a way of speaking altogether incompatible with the larger number of 1,600,000. But it agrees well with the real number of 400,000 mentioned by Athenæus; for of these 400,000, only a fourth part, or 100,000, could be able to bear arms. So that deducting the 20,000 who deserted during the

* Political Discourses, p. 222, 223, 224.

Decelian war, it would not be found so easy a matter to raise out of the remainder the number mentioned by Xenophon. Thus, as there is no necessity, from the passage in Athenæus, to state the number of slaves so high as Mr Hume hath done, and as, instead of being twelve or twenty times, they were only thrice as numerous as those of free condition, all these arguments fall to the ground at once.

Neither is the smallness of the Census a good argument against the populousness of the state of Athens. Our author hath observed, that both Demosthenes * and Polybius † state the Census of Athens at 6000 talents, or 1,162,500*l*. and under this sum he would comprehend the whole value of lands, houses, furniture, and slaves. ‡ But this cannot be the meaning either of Demosthenes or of Polybius, nor is it possible to reconcile it to the circumstances of Athens. Counting only 200,000 slaves, at two minæ each (which was the least value put upon any of the slaves belonging to Demosthenes's father §) the slaves alone were worth more money. We must not therefore consider the Census, as comprehending the full value of lands, houses, furniture, and slaves. Perhaps it is not easy to determine with precision what was meant by it; probably it was something like a valuation of yearly rents and

* De Classibus.

† Lib. 2.

‡ Political Discourses, p. 224.

§ In Aphob. 1.

profits, according to which a tax was to be imposed on the Athenians. Understanding it in this sense, the sum of 6000 talents was not a small valuation: for, supposing the Athenians to have been half a million in number, each of them would have had more than 2*l.* per annum, which would have gone far to purchase necessities amidst the ancient plenty.* Besides, it is not at all probable, that the sum of 6000 talents was the full estimate of the real rents or profits of all the people of Athens. As it is usual in valuations made in order to the imposition of taxes, it would be much below the real value. Supposing it only a third, every inhabitant would have had more than 6*l.* a year to spend, which is not much below what Davenant† allots to every person in England in our expensive times. But be this as it will, it was impossible that 6000 talents could be the full value of the whole state of Athens; for not long before, there had been at one time about 10,000 talents in the Athenian treasury;‡ so that the inference from this topic does not seem to be well founded.

Our author has affirmed, § that the Athenians

* Dissertation, p. 128, &c.

† Essay upon the probable methods of making a people gainers in the balance of trade, London, 1699, p. 23.

In this essay, the author states 7*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.* a-head, as the yearly expence of all the people in England.

‡ Dissertation, p. 130.

§ P. 226.

brought yearly from Pontus 400,000 medimni of corn ; that at that time they imported little corn from any other place ; and that * Attica itself was so barren in corn, that it produced not enough to maintain the peasants. From whence he brings an argument against the populousness of the Athenian territory, since its whole inhabitants were maintained by so small an importation, added to the inconsiderable product which Attica yielded.

But (1.) Demosthenes says no more than this, that the Athenians brought scarce so much corn from all other markets together, as from Pontus alone. † Besides, these markets seem to have been only those with which the Athenians traded by sea. ‡ They might, and probably did bring a much greater quantity by land from the neighbouring markets in Greece : for it appears to have been rather less expensive to bring corn by land, than to import it by sea, since navigation was either so imperfect, or so dangerous in those days, that, according to Thucydides, § the importation of provisions from Eubœa, by a voyage about the promontory of Sunium, was more expensive than bringing them by land by

* Political Discourses, p. 227.

† Orat. Adversus Leptinem.

‡ This is confirmed both by the signification of the word ἐμπορίων used by Demosthenes, and by what follows in the passage.

§ Lib. 7. cap. 28.

the way of Oropus.* (2.) Though Attica was represented to the Roman senate, by the Athenian ambassadors, as barren; yet, considering the circumstances in which they were placed, and the design they had of excusing themselves to the Romans, we ought to lay little stress on their representation; for they would represent their country as being at least as barren as it really was.† (3.) Notwithstanding their representation, we may well be allowed to suppose, that Attica produced grain enough to maintain three fourths of the peasants. According to Xenophon, there were 10,000 houses or families in Athens.‡ Allowing therefore seven to each family, there were 70,000 Athenians who dwelt in the city; the remaining 430,000 § were the peasants, who lived in the country. (4.) On this supposition, it is easy to shew, that the Athenians had grain, brought in by sea and land together, enough to maintain those 70,000 who

* Political Discourses, p. 207.

† "Primi Athenienses introducti: ii, se, quod navium haberint militumque, P. Licinio consuli et C. Lucretio prætori misisse exposuerunt, quibus eos non usos frumenti sibi centum millia imperasse: quod quanquam sterilem terram arent, ipsosque etiam agrestes peregrino frumento alerent, tamen, ne deessent officio, confecisse; et alia, quæ imperarentur, præstare paratos esse. *Tit. Liv. lib. 43. cap. 6.*

‡ Memorab. lib. 3.

§ According to the Dissertation, p. 56, the inhabitants of the whole territory of Attica, are computed to have been about half a million.

dwelt in the city, and the remaining fourth part of the peasants, which together amounted to 177,500, and were unprovided for by the product of Attica. If to the 400,000 *medimni* brought in yearly from Pontus, we add about as much imported from all the other *ἐμπορία* together, and twice as much, which could have been more easily brought by land from the neighbouring markets in Greece, we shall find, that they had a quantity of grain sufficient to maintain these 177,500 people. For they had of grain alone more than one Scotch, or about $1\frac{1}{2}$ English pecks a-week to each of them ; * no inconsiderable allowance, considering the plenty of fruits and of other provisions with which Attica abounded. (5.) So that upon the whole we cannot suppose, that the Athenians wanted food sufficient to maintain about half a million of people, the number assigned in the Dissertation. Thus the testimony of Athenæus is found to be consistent with the supposed barrenness of Attica, and with the importations of corn from Pontus and other places.

From the same principle on which Mr Hume hath supposed, that the number of Athenian slaves

* Many of the labouring people in Scotland, when they are put on board-wages, have no more a-week, than two Scotch pecks of oat-meal, for the whole of their maintenance.

One Scotch is to an English peck, as 1.47 to 1 nearly.

The *medimnus* contained 6.084 English, or 4.128 Scotch pecks nearly.

amounted to 1,600,000, he computes the Lacedæmonian slaves at 3,120,000 ; a number so vastly great, that he concludes they could not have been maintained in a narrow barren country, such as Laconia, which had no trade. Indeed, had the number really been so great, his reasoning perhaps might have been just : but, as his calculation of the number of the Athenian slaves is founded on a wrong interpretation of Athenæus, for the same reason, that of the Lacedæmonian slaves is erroneous. If we form a calculation, on supposition, that the number of the Lacedæmonians of free condition bore the same proportion to that of their slaves, as 124,000, the number of the free Athenians, bore even to 1,600,000, the number of their slaves according to our author's interpretation of Athenæus, we shall find, that they ought to be stated only at 2,012,903.* But if we calculate according to the just account, we shall find, that they ought to be stated only at 503,225, and all the inhabitants in the Spartan territory only at 659,225 ; a number which might have been well maintained by the product of their own soil, especially as the Spartans are known to have lived in a frugal and simple manner.

According to Plutarch, † Lycurgus divided the

* By some oversight they are made 3,120,000 in the Political Discourse, p. 225 ; a number vastly too great, even supposing that the Lacedæmonian slaves were more numerous than those of the Athenians in proportion to the free citizens.

† In Lycurg.

whole Lacedæmonian territory into 39,000 lots or shares, one of which he gave to each of his 39,000 citizens. Every share yielded 70 *medimni* of grain to a man, 12 to a woman, with a suitable proportion of wet fruits, (I suppose oil, wine, figs, &c.) Thus each citizen's family had at least 82 *medimni*, which was more than $9\frac{1}{2}$ English, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ Scotch pecks a-week. This was paid to the Spartans by the Helotes, and was a sufficient quantity of grain for all of free condition; and by supposing any the most moderate proportion between what these Helotes paid, and the whole product of the lands, you shall find, on a calculation, that there remained grain sufficient to maintain, not indeed the immense number of slaves mentioned by Mr Hume, but 503,225, or even a greater number, which we have supposed it contained, agreeably to the testimony of ancient authors.

From Athens and Lacedæmon let us pass to Thebes, another capital city of Greece. Our author hath computed its citizens at no more than 6000; * for which I can see no reason, that can be offered from antiquity, but that Epaminondas took 6000 Bæotians to the battle of Leuctra, as we learn from Diodorus; † and that this levy was made up of such as were most fit for war,

* Political Discourses, p. 227.

† Lib. 15. cap. 52.

after a review of the Bœotian state. Does this shew, that there were no more than 6000 citizens in the whole state, or even within the walls of Thebes? Is it said, that Epaminondas carried with him all the fighting men in Bœotia? or can this be believed to have been possible? can we suppose the number of the Theban citizens to have been so small, at a time when the Bœotians made so great a figure, when, according to Diodorus, the Lacedæmonians who had 39,000 citizens * in the days of Lycurgus, and had for a long time been the most powerful people in Greece, began to be afraid, lest the Thebans should obtain the chief influence, as Bœotia abounded in cities, and their inhabitants were men of valour. † It was at this very period, as Diodorus hath observed, that the Athenians chused to assist the Thebans, for this very reason, because they were inferior to none of the states of Greece, either for courage, strength, or numbers of men. ‡ How could this have been the case, if their citizens amounted only to 6000?

It is this opinion concerning the scarcity of people in Bœotia, which has misled our author in two other cases, and made him imagine it difficult to reconcile the accounts of Xenophon, and

* Plutarch in Lycurg.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. sect. 20.

‡ Τὸ γὰρ ἴδιος τετο καὶ πληθεὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὀνδρεία κατὰ πόλεμον ἴδιος τῶν ἑλληνῶν ἰδοκεὶ λείπεσθαι. Ib. § 26.

some other ancient authors, though in themselves they are perfectly consistent.

Phliasia is said by Xenophon to be a small city, though it contained 6000 citizens.* Nor is there the least inconsistency here; for a city which contained no more than 6000 citizens, was in Greece accounted only a small one. Upon the same principle it is easy to reconcile Xenophon, who says, that Sparta is one of the cities of Greece that has the fewest inhabitants,† with Plutarch, who says, that it had 9000 citizens:‡ for on a comparison we may infer, that Thebes, or any other of the capital cities of Greece, contained many more than this number of citizens; an inference entirely agreeable to the truth of history.

All the Ætolians, able to bear arms in Antipater's time, are made by Mr Hume to have been only 10,000 men.§ But Diodorus, whose authority is quoted to prove the fact, gives this account of the matter; || that, when Antipater and Craterus entered Ætolia with 30,000 foot and 2500 horse, the Ætolians resolving to act upon the defensive, and not to risk their all on the uncertain chance of one battle, raised an army, consisting of 10,000 of their most vigorous citizens. With this army they took the field, and encamp-

* Political Discourses, p. 227.

† Xenoph. de Repub. Laced.

§ P. 228.

‡ In Lycurg.

|| Lib. 18. cap. 24.

ed on high and inaccessible grounds, that they might not be obliged to come to a decisive battle, and at the same time might hinder the enemy from plundering at large, and from penetrating into those mountainous places, whither they had conveyed their wives, children, and old men, with their most valuable goods. Now, 10,000 men were sufficient for annoying and harassing the enemy in this manner. Have we any reason from thence to conclude, that the Ætolians had only 10,000 citizens able to bear arms? It is plain from Diodorus, that they had many more; for we are told, that, while they abandoned their weaker and more defenceless cities, they put strong garrisons into those which were defensible. And it is evident, that this would require a great number of the best of their citizens.

As little reason is there to interpret Pausanias as our author has done, as if he had said, * that all the Achæans able to bear arms, in the days of Polybius, even when several manumitted slaves were joined to them, did not amount to 15,000; for Pausanias's representation of the circumstances of Achaia leads to a very different conclusion. According to his account, † an Achæan army was raised, consisting of 14,000 foot and 600 horse, and was made up of slaves as well as freemen. Perhaps too a proclamation had been

* Political Discourses, p. 226.

† In Achaïcis.

issued out, that all the citizens, who were fit for war, should enlist in the army. But all the citizens did not obey the order. The circumstances of the time shew evidently how this happened; for this army was raised, when the Achæans were divided into three factions, one which was attached to the Romans, another which was attached to the Macedonians, and a third which was attached to neither, but declared for the independency of Greece. It was raised, when ignorant, unexperienced, and violent leaders were advanced to govern the state; immediately after the Achæans had been overcome by the Romans in a great battle, in which they lost their prætor; when a victorious Roman army was in Greece, and marching directly to Corinth. In such a divided dangerous condition, we need not wonder, that no mighty army could be raised in Achaia. An army raised in these circumstances, could not possibly have contained all the freemen able to bear arms. According to Polybius, who knew their affairs best, the Achæan league might have marched 30, or 40,000 men, without any inconvenience.* This gives a more just idea of the populousness of Achaia; for no country can conveniently march all its fighting men; Achaia must therefore have had many more than 30,000 citizens. To suppose it had not even 15,000, is quite inconsistent with the history of a state,

* Political Discourses, p. 228, 229:

consisting of so many different cities, which have been so justly celebrated for that heroic league into which they entered in defence of their liberty and independence. But what a poor defence could they have made, if all their cities, even with the addition of some slaves, could not have raised an army of 15,000 men !

That the Romans destroyed Epirus, and sold 150,000 of the inhabitants for slaves, is attested by Livy ; * but that these 150,000 were all the inhabitants of Epirus, † which is necessary for our author's argument, is wholly improbable. How secretly soever the Romans gave orders to their general Paulus Æmilius to plunder Epirus, and to dismantle its cities ; and whatever care he might take to execute his orders with secrecy, it can scarce be believed, that he could have caught the whole people of Epirus. Multitudes of them must certainly have escaped. Paulus Æmilius himself was a good-natured man, and was greatly afflicted on receiving such cruel orders. ‡ If he plundered the country of its silver and gold, if he dismantled 70 cities, if he made slaves of 150,000 persons, he surely did enough. Humanity, policy, the impossibility of catching every person, and the madness of doing it, had it been possible, must have secured the escape of

* Lib. 45. cap. 34.

† Political Discourses, p. 229.

‡ Plutarch. in Æmil.

many thousands. Neither indeed is it probable, that the Romans could intend to render Epirus entirely desolate. To what purpose? It is far more probable, they meant only to strike terror, and would perhaps suffer by far the greatest number to escape, who either remained secretly in the country, or soon returned to it after the Romans were gone.

It may appear surprising, and tend to give a diminutive idea of antiquity, that a city of so extensive commerce, and of so great fame and splendour, as Rhodes is well known to have been, should have contained only 6000 citizens. It is true, as our author has said,* it contained no more when it was besieged by Demetrius; only Diodorus mentions a thousand strangers besides: † a small number, it must be confessed, if there were really no more. However, we imagine, a satisfactory account may be given of this matter, without degrading antiquity, or rejecting the hypothesis in the Dissertation. (1.) It is not probable, that these 7000 who defended Rhodes, made the whole number of its citizens and strangers. For history informs us, that the first thing the Rhodians did upon this occasion, was to get rid of all such persons, as would be either useless or burdensome during the siege. Hence, (2.) we may conclude, that many of the richest,

* P. 227.

† Diod. Sic. lib. 20. cap. 84.

softest, and most luxurious citizens, who had not fortitude and strength of mind sufficient to make them undergo the hardships of a siege, would fly before it began. Consider only what might be expected, if a city, such as London, inhabited by a wealthy and luxurious people, well provided with ships and other conveniences for transporting themselves, was in real danger of enduring a siege. (3.) From hence it is probable, that the 7000 who remained in Rhodes, were only the bravest and most resolute part of its citizens; such brave citizens may be supposed to have easily dispensed with the presence of such, as would have served only to consume provisions, and to damp the spirits of the rest; would perhaps have been perpetually assailing their ears with pitiful cries to surrender; nay, might have gone so far, as out of mere cowardice to have betrayed the city. Besides, the governors of Rhodes might have this farther in view, effectually to secure a great part both of their citizens, and of their riches, that if the city happened to be taken, they might be preserved from the violence of the enemy, and be reserved for better times. (4.) But after all, if these 7000 were in truth all the citizens and strangers in Rhodes, who were able to bear arms, thus much must at least be granted, that that state, which in ancient times was possessed of the empire of the sea, * which enjoyed

* Strabo, lib. 14.

the most extensive commerce, and whose nautical laws have been not only celebrated for their equity, but are even a standard, and of great authority at this day, in all controversies relating to maritime affairs, seems to have contained an inconsiderable number of citizens. This, if it be true, greatly confirms the hypothesis in the Dissertation, that the most extensive commerce does not necessarily produce so many people, as a careful and industrious attention to agriculture.*

From Rhodes we pass to Italy.

As to those prodigious numbers which were engaged at the battle at Siagra,† we apprehend, that the authority of Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, is sufficient to form a strong presumption of the very great populousness, not only of Sybaris and Croton, but also of all the southern parts of Italy, till some better reason is produced for rejecting the testimonies of these authors, than the greatness of the numbers assigned by them.‡

To descend to a later age, the forces which Polybius assigns to the Romans and their allies, between the first and second Punic wars, amount-

* As manufactures were less numerous, navigation was more imperfect, and commerce was less extensive in ancient than in modern times; neither cities nor states could have then flourished so much by their means alone, as several have done, since the attention of the world has turned so much on the improvement of trade and the encouragement of manufactures.

† Dissertation, p. 59.

‡ Political Discourses, p. 213.

ing to more than 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse,* shew the great populousness of Italy in that age. These were the fighting men of only a part of Italy.† The account is taken from a kind of muster-roll, and has all marks of credibility. If it may be depended on, we must compute the inhabitants of Italy, who were of free condition, at 12 millions; and reckoning thrice as many slaves, the inhabitants of all sorts will be found to be no fewer than 48 millions; or, if the proportion of three slaves to one free person shall be thought too high, considering the simplicity of the Romans in the more early ages; by supposing them only two to one, the inhabitants of Italy were 36 millions; and as the bulk of Italy is to that of England, as three to two, Italy was thrice as populous as England. But, supposing the slaves to have been even three to one, and the number of all the inhabitants 48 millions, there will be an acre for every head; which is more than some Roman consuls and dictators had to maintain their families, not very many years before that time.‡ This circumstance is a confirmation of the numbers marked by Polybius.

This account given by Polybius, is confirmed by the authority of Diodorus Siculus, who com-

* Polyb. lib. 2.

† Not above the third part, according to the Political Discourse, p. 215.

‡ Dissertation, p. 119, 120.

putes the number of these forces at near a million. For though his enumeration varies from that of Polybius,* yet it may be observed, that Diodorus computes them in round numbers; that the variation is extremely small; and that they both agree in assigning numbers very great. And though Diodorus plainly supposes, that Italy was not so populous in his time, as before the second Punic war, this circumstance can afford no suspicion against either his own testimony, or that of Polybius.† For there is no absurdity in supposing, what both from history and from the nature of things appears to have been the case, that the number of inhabitants in Italy was diminished in the time of Diodorus; since the second Punic war, and those civil wars which followed it and brought along with them such destruction and devastation into Italy, are evident causes of decay.

It is not necessary to consider the extent or buildings of the city of Rome, concerning which our author has made several curious observations.‡ For as the question is not concerning the inhabitants who dwelt within the walls of Rome, but concerning the whole number of the Roman people, it is of less consequence to inquire into the largeness of the city, or the extent of its walls at any particular period; whe-

* Political Discourses, p. 216:

† Ibid.

‡ P. 230, &c.

ther it was largest under the reign of Augustus, or before or afterwards ; what was the form of its houses ; whether they were high, and the inhabitants lived in separate stories ; whether there was much empty ground within its precincts ; whether it did not contain a greater number of inhabitants, of all sorts and degrees, comprehending freemen and slaves, Romans, Italians, and foreigners, under the emperors, than under the commonwealth ; what sort of *Canaille* those 200,000 were, who received corn by the public distribution in Augustus's time.* For whatever may be said in answer to these questions, and whatever was the condition of the city of Rome, it appears pretty evident, that Italy declined greatly in industry and in numbers of people, after the establishment of the Roman empire.

Sicily is confessed by our author to have flourished greatly in ancient times, and to have been much decayed in the days of Augustus.† He seems indeed to imagine those accounts, which are given of the numerous armies maintained by the Dionysii, to be entirely fabulous and fictitious ; because Diodorus Siculus, as Mr Hume apprehends, allows, that, even in his time, the army of Dionysius appeared incredible : and because it seems impossible that so great an army could be maintained in a country of so small extent, and

* Political Discourses, p. 234.

† P. 219.

of so little trade. * But I have not been able to fall on any passage of Diodorus, in which he seems to entertain the smallest doubt concerning the credibility of these accounts. On the contrary, I have met with one, where he mentions the great armies of Dionysius the younger, with other numerous armies of later times ; † and from thence brings an argument in support of what he says concerning the great populousness of more ancient ages. Besides, it is well known that the Syracusians, and the inhabitants of some other cities which the Dionysii had subdued, employed themselves in trade and manufactures, not indeed according to the extensive plan of modern commerce, but according to the maxims and circumstances of these times. So that if we remember the great magazines of arms and other military engines, and the immense treasures which were laid up by Dionysius the elder, and reflect on the great fertility of Sicily, we may perceive how the Dionysii were able to maintain so great armies. Besides, Mr Hume confesses, ‡ that the Dionysii lived in a most enlightened age, and in an island with which the Greeks were well acquainted ; and that the history of Dionysius the elder was written by Philistus, who was not only a man of great genius, but minister to that prince, and of course had good opportunity of knowing the true

* P. 217. 218.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. cap. 5.

situation of his affairs. Nay, he even confesses that one would imagine, that every circumstance of the life and actions of Dionysius the elder might be regarded as authentic and free from all fabulous exaggeration : so that, upon the whole, it seems surprising, that he should be found so doubtful of the truth of a history so well supported. Can such authentic accounts be invalidated, merely because we have not a particular estimate of the funds by which the Dionysii maintained their armies, or by an insinuation that they arose from the exaggerated flattery of the courtiers, or perhaps from the vanity and policy of the tyrants themselves? Such falsehood could never have remained undetected, unless the Dionysii had lived so long that the memory of the facts had been quite forgotten.

According to the Dissertation, Gaul was more populous before the days of Julius Cæsar than it has been ever since; but Mr Hume inclines to think, that it was not near so populous as France is at present.* In order to support his opinion, he not only brings arguments from the ancient condition and circumstances of that country, but also offers objections against the computations of ancient authors. However, on an examination we shall find, that his remarks are not sufficient to support his hypothesis. (1.) The Gauls were anciently much more advanced in the arts of life

* P. 249.

than Mr Hume imagines them to have been, when he compares them with their northern neighbours,* (I suppose the Germans are here understood,) as is evident from the express testimony both of Strabo and Cæsar, mentioned in the Dissertation. † (2.) We have no reason to conclude, that the Gauls were not anciently much advanced in the arts of life, because they travelled into this island for their education in the mysteries of the religion and philosophy of the Druids. ‡ From hence it appears only, that the mode or tour of travelling in those days was different from that which is most common at present; that the Gauls had an high opinion of the antiquity, learning, and sanctity of our British Druids; or at most, that they were superstitious or enthusiastic; for it is not said that they travelled to Britain to learn the arts of life, but to learn the mysteries of their religion. So that I apprehend we have as little reason to conclude, that the Gauls were not well advanced in the arts of life, as we should have to infer, that the British were not at present much advanced in them,

* P. 249.

† P. 70, 71, 72.

I cannot find any passage in Strabo, in which he observes, "That though all Gaul was cultivated, it was not cultivated with any skill or care." The passage which seems to have been in our author's eye, is interpreted too unfavourably for the Gauls; for it does not relate to the whole, but only to some particular places of this country; as may be seen in the Dissertation, p. 71.

‡ Political Discourses, p. 249.

because they travel abroad into other countries. On the contrary, this custom seems to be rather a proof of the superior civility, politeness, and improvements of the people of this island above those of other nations. Indeed, we may well be allowed to say, that these other nations act unwisely in shewing so little curiosity to visit a people remarkable for their wisdom, their learning, their genius, their spirit, their trade, their liberty, and the excellency of their political constitution; and from intercourse with whom good sense and sound maxims are to be learned, if any where in Europe. But how can the custom of travelling be reckoned a mark of barbarity? Further, if the ancient Gauls are concluded to have been but little advanced in the arts of life, because they were so superstitious as to travel into Britain, in order to acquire a perfect knowledge of the mysteries of their religion; what must we say of the present French, who, notwithstanding their boasted politeness and improvements, are deeply tinctured with a superstition of the same kind, and are still so foolish as to look for infallibility in an imaginary idol, framed by the weakness, pride, and ambition of man; and to imagine, like the ancient Gauls,* that this sovereign pontiff, or arch Druid, the head of their religion, and the dernier resort in all controversies, is not to be found in their own country? (3.) If

* Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 13.

it be a certain sign, as undoubtedly it is, that a nation is considerably advanced in the arts of life, when a taste for contemplation and philosophy prevails, we have good authority to conclude, that the Gauls were curious inquirers into nature, that they studied astronomy, were not ignorant of geography, reasoned much concerning the divinity, and were persuaded, that the soul of man did not perish at death: *multa de sideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de Deorum imortalium vi ac potestate disputant, et juventuti transdunt.** Besides, it appears evidently, that they were acquainted with the language of that people, who had, first of all the Europeans, cultivated the arts and sciences, had carried philosophy to so surprising a height, and had produced so many works of taste, genius, and learning; for it is altogether improbable to suppose, that the Greek language was not understood among a people who used the Greek letters in almost all their public and private affairs.† And it is as improbable to suppose, that they could remain barbarous and unpolished, when they must have had such opportunities of improvement, by their acquaintance with the

* Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 14.

† “In castris Helvetiorum tabulæ repertæ sunt litteris Græcis confectæ.”—Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 29.

“Neque fas esse existimant, ea litteris mandare, quum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Græcis utantur litteris.”—*Ibid.* lib. 6. cap. 14.

Greek authors. (4.) We can hardly believe, that the Gauls were quite ignorant of the arts of life, when their chief deity was Mercury, whom they believed to be the inventor of every art, and to preside over trade and merchandize.*

If, as our author observes,† equality of property had no place among the Gauls, we may remark, that a perfect equality had place nowhere; for there were wealthy and eminent citizens in all the ancient republics. Besides, equality of fortune is but one circumstance; the populousness of ancient nations did not depend on it alone; and there were many other sources, from whence vast multitudes of people might be derived.‡

Neither are the wars among the Gauls|| a stronger argument against their populousness, than these in other ancient nations.§

As to our author's calculations concerning the numbers of the inhabitants of Gaul, I pretend not to find a perfect agreement between Appian's account of the number of those whom Cæsar encountered, killed, or took prisoners, and the account given either by Plutarch or by Pater-

* "Deum maxime Mercurium colunt:—hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt:—hunc ad quæstus pecuniæ mercaturasque habere vim maximam, arbitrantur." *Ibid.* cap. 17.

† P. 250.

‡ See the Dissertation, p. 84, &c.

|| See Political Discourses, p. 250.

§ See Appendix, p. 214, &c:

culus : * or to answer for the consistency of Appian's testimony concerning the number of 400 nations or tribes which inhabited that country, with what Diodorus Siculus affirms concerning the numbers of people, of which these Gallic nations consisted. † Only we may observe, that the testimonies of all these historians agree, in assigning large numbers, ‡ and of course in supporting the opinion concerning the populousness of Gaul; and that computing on any reasonable supposition from the account of Appian and that of Diodorus joined together, the inhabitants of ancient Gaul will be found not to have been more than three or four times as numerous, as the inhabitants of France at present; a proportion, which seems to have obtained in several other nations. §

* Political Discourses, p. 216.

† Ibid, p. 249, 250.

‡ According to Paterculus, (lib. 2.) Cæsar killed 400,000 of the enemy in his foreign wars. This number is much less than that which is assigned either by Appian, Plutarch, or Pliny. In particular Pliny mentions no fewer than “undecies centena et nonaginta duo millia hominum occisa præter civiles victorias.” Lipsius, in his notes on the passage in Paterculus, is so confident that the number is greatly diminished in this author, as to ask, “Can any one then doubt that *decc* should be read instead of *cecc*?”

See Dissertation, p. 76, 77. *Appian. in Celticis. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 25. Just. Lips. ad Vell. Pater.*

§ Since Appian relates that there were 400 Gallic nations, and Diodorus, that the greatest of these nations consisted of 200,000,

Again, it is certain, that there were three orders of men among the Gauls, viz. the Druids, the Equites, and the Plebes. All these seem to have been of free condition. * Now, if we com-

and the least of 50,000; though we understand Diodorus to mean only the fighting men, we are not obliged to compute all the inhabitants of Gaul at much above 80 millions; for perhaps very few of these nations contained many above the smallest number. And as we may compute 20 millions in France at present, which is not equal in extent to the ancient Gaul; even according to such a high computation, it will not follow, that Gaul was much more than thrice as populous as France is at present; which is not such an extravagant supposition as our author may imagine. However, the Dissertation proceeds on a more moderate computation, and states the inhabitants of Gaul at only about 40 millions, since it is scarce probable, that Gaul was peopled in as great a proportion as Greece, Italy, and some other nations.

See *Appian in Celtica*, and *Diodor. Sic. lib. 5. cap. 25.*

* The Druids were consecrated to the service of religion, and, besides, had a chief direction in the management of civil affairs. The next order was that of the Equites, of whom Cæsar says, that when occasion required, and any war broke out, "Omnes in bello versantur," lib. 6. cap. 15. The last order was that of the Plebes, who seem to have been of inferior rank, though they were of free condition. And since in time of war, all the Equites took the field, on this account fewer of the Plebes would be inlisted in their armies: so that we may suppose, the great bulk of them would be left to labour the ground, or work at other employments. Indeed, in the Dissertation, from a presumption, that there must have been slaves among the Gauls, as well as among almost all other ancient nations, we were led to imagine, that the Plebes were no other than slaves, and, of course, that they were never inlisted in the Gallic armies. But, on a more accurate examination, we have found reason to alter our opinion, and to believe, that there were actually slaves among the Gauls; and

pute the fighting men of Belgium, as in the Dissertation, * at half a million, and suppose, that there was among the Gauls another order of men, who were not inlisted in their armies, the whole inhabitants of Gaul will be found to amount to 32 millions. But Mr Hume, by supposing, that the Gauls had no domestic slaves, makes their number amount only to eight millions. † On this argument (1.) we must observe, that the institution of slavery was almost universal in ancient times, and that it obtained in almost every nation. In particular, the Germans, the people neighbouring to Gaul, according to Tacitus, ‡ had their slaves; a strong presumption, that there was a similar order of men among the Gauls. (2.) It appears, that the Gauls had domestic slaves, from what Cæsar informs us was a common custom in Gaul, viz. that such as were either loaded with debts, or burdened with taxes, or oppressed by the injuries of the great, used to sell themselves, for slaves

that the Plebes, or the greatest part of them, who are said to be *pæne servorum in loco*, were only those among the people, who, though they were free, were of low condition; like the common people in Greece, Rome, and other countries. By this supposition, the hypothesis in the Dissertation is greatly confirmed, and several passages in Cæsar are reconciled both to it and to one another.

* P. 72.

† P. 251.

‡ De Mor. Germ. cap. 20. 25.

to the nobles.* (3.) But that the Gauls had domestic slaves, appears yet more evidently from another express testimony of Cæsar, where, speaking of that trial which Orgetorix was to undergo, for having conspired against the liberties of the Helvetii, he has the following words:

Die constituta caussæ dictionis, Orgetorix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum millia decem, undique coegit; et omnes clientes, obæratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit. † Now, it may be remarked, that the word

familia is, in its proper and original signification, used to express a family of slaves, subjected to the authority of one *paterfamilias*: ‡ at any rate, it must be understood so in this place. So that these 10,000 who accompanied Orgetorix, can only be understood of slaves. (4.) If one man appears to have had so many, we may conclude, that the use of slaves was common among the Gauls, and that almost every free citizen had some.

(5.) Hence it appears to be of little moment in

* “Plerique, quum aut ære alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus. In hos eadem omnia sunt jura quæ dominis in servos.”
De Bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 13.

† *De Bell. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

‡ This appears from *Brissonius de Verborum Significatione in voce Familia*; from *l. 9, ff. De Jurisdictione*; from the title *De Ædilitio Edicto*; from *l. 1. § 16*, and several other places of the title *De Vi et de Vi Armata*; from both the rubric and the laws of the title, *Si Familia Furtum fecisse Dicitur*; from *l. 195, ff. De Verborum Significatione*; and from numberless other places in the *Pandects*.

this argument, whether the Plebes were or were not inlisted in the armies of the Gauls; for they must have had an order of men, who, by parity of reason, we must be allowed to suppose, were never admitted into their armies, since it was a constant maxim of ancient policy, in almost every nation, never to inlist slaves, or to allow them the use of arms, unless on the most pressing occasions. (6.) If the Gauls had no domestic slaves, nor any order of men inferior to the Plebes; and if the Plebes were admitted indiscriminately into the armies inlisted in Gaul; it follows, that its inhabitants must be reduced to a number, which is altogether inconsistent with the accounts of the best historians, and with the circumstances of the Gallic territory; for it was extensive, fertile, and, I may add, well cultivated.* (7.) If we make the inhabitants of Gaul amount only to so small a number as eight millions, we are reduced to this absurdity, that Gaul was not near so populous in proportion as other ancient nations, though it was possessed of most of those sources which rendered those other nations populous.

The preceding reasoning, I apprehend, is decisive; and is alone sufficient to invalidate most of the objections moved by Mr Hume against the populousness of Gaul. In particular, there is no necessity to suppose that those 100,000

* Dissertation, p. 70, 71.

men, whom the Bellovaci, one of the nations of Belgium, could have brought into the field, were all noblemen.* For we grant that some of the Plebes might have been inlisted as well as the Equites. On any supposition whatsoever, it is not necessary to call them all noblemen, since Cæsar does not call them *nobiles*, but *armata millia centum*;† and the term *nobiles* can be applied only to the more eminent and wealthy of all the freemen, especially of the orders of the Druids and Equites.

Indeed on this article it may be objected, that if the Bellovaci could have brought 100,000 men into the field; and if the proportion of the slaves to the free persons is made the same as that of three to one, it follows necessarily, that the whole people in the state of the Bellovaci must have amounted to 1,600,000; a number which is directly contrary to that of Diodorus Siculus, who affirms, that the largest of the Gallic nations consisted of only 200,000 men, ἄνδρες; for at this rate we cannot compute the whole people in any the largest state of Gaul at more than 800,000. However, as it is impossible to determine precisely the proportion between the freemen and the slaves, probable suppositions might be made to reconcile the account of Cæsar with that of Diodorus.

* Political Discourses, p. 251.

† De Bell. Gall. lib. 2. cap. 4.

Besides the argument brought from the army of the Bellovaci, Mr Hume has brought another from what Cæsar relates concerning the Helvetii, in order to prove that Gaul was not so populous as is commonly believed.* According to Cæsar, in the lists which he found in the Helvetian camp, the number of the Helvetii, who had abandoned their country, in order to conquer and take possession of some larger territory, was stated at 263,000; † the fourth part of which, we may suppose, was able to bear arms: from whence Mr Hume infers, that their country was ill inhabited, since it contained so small a number, though it was 240 miles in length, and 180 in breadth. But (1.) since we have proved, that the Gauls had domestic slaves who were not enrolled, we shall find on a computation, that the whole Helvetii might have amounted to about a million; no inconsiderable number of inhabitants in a country which seems to have been barren and mountainous. (2.) Since Orgetorix had a family of about 10,000 slaves, how vastly numerous may we suppose the Helvetian slaves to have been, and, of course, how populous the state itself! Indeed the multitude of their people seems to have been one principal cause of their design to leave

* Political Discourses, p. 251.

† De Bell. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 29. By some oversight it is stated at 360,000 in the Political Discourse, p. 251.

their country.* (3.) Though these 263,000 had been the real number of all the Helvetii, we ought not to judge of the populousness of Gaul from the number of those who lived in a part of it which was so barren and mountainous, that the inhabitants had formed a design of abandoning it.† (4.) A resolution so uncommon as that which the Helvetii formed, to abandon their country, is ever attended with many frightful ideas of its consequences, and is counteracted by that indolence, that anxiety, those prejudices, and that affection to a native soil, which are natural to most part of mankind. Hence we may well be allowed to suppose that the whole nation of the Helvetii could not be brought to go upon so hazardous an expedition; that Cæsar's intelligence might have been not perfectly exact; that therefore it was only a powerful colony which had entered into this resolution; that multitudes would choose to remain in their own country; in particular, that the Druids, who were wholly exempted from war, were consecrated to the service of religion, were of so great influence, importance, and authority in Gaul, and seem to have been in so good a way at

* "Pro multitudine autem hominum, et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis, augustos se finis habere arbitrabantur." *Cæs. de Bell. Gall.* lib. 1. cap. 2.

† *Cæs. de Bell. Gall.* lib. 1. cap. 2.

home, would not be hasty to set out on such an adventure, but would rather wait its issue; and, of course, that we must augment the number of the Helvetii, by an increment equal to what we may reasonably suppose to have been the number of the Druids, and of those others who remained at home. If this was the case, we may easily see, why the number of the Helvetii, mentioned in the rolls, was so small. Thus those difficulties, which seem to attend the accounts of historians concerning ancient Gaul, are found not to be insuperable; though it must be confessed, that they are the most puzzling which have occurred in our examination of this question.

Our author proceeds next to consider the populousness of Spain, and seems inclined to think, that it was not so populous about 2000 years ago, as it is at present; because of the restless, turbulent, unsettled condition of its ancient inhabitants.* But we have no reason to believe, that the Spaniards were of old more fierce and barbarous than many other ancient nations. It is true, they are represented in this manner by the Roman historians, who seem to have accounted every thing, but a slavish subjection to their empire, barbarity. It is thus that we find Justin concluding his forty-fourth book: *Nec prius, perdomita provincia jugum Hispani accipere*

• Political Discourses, p. 251, 252.

potuerunt, quam Caesar Augustus, perdomito orbe, victricia ad eos arma transtulit, populumque barbarum ac ferum, legibus ad cultiorem vitæ usum tractum, in formam provinciæ redegit. So that it is reasonable to think, that what was called by the Romans fierceness, was only a zeal for liberty, and a spirit of independence; and that a tame submission to the injuries, insults, and oppression of the Romans, was called *cultior vitæ usus*.

Thus much is certain from ancient history, that Spain, like Italy and Greece, was anciently divided into a great many small and independent states; and we have showed, that what is represented as barbarity, was not only not productive of desolation, but even contributed not a little to the populousness of the world. Now, what reason have we to imagine, that it could be productive of worse consequences in Spain, than in other countries?

Accordingly the Spaniards are represented as remarkably populous by ancient authors; and in particular by Cicero, in that passage quoted by Mr Hume, in support of his hypothesis; but which in reality makes against it. *Quam volumus licet, P. C. ipsi nos amemus: tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis ac terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos, ac Latinos, sed pietate, ac religione; omnes genteis nationesque superavimus.* * Instead of giving us a

* De Haruspicum Responsis Orat. 30.

diminutive, * what a high idea does it give us of the populousness of ancient nations? For since it is almost demonstrable, that Italy and Greece abounded with multitudes of people, we may reasonably infer, that the Spaniards surpassed the Romans in numbers; and that Spain was as remarkable for a superior populousness, as each of these nations for those particular qualities ascribed to them by Cicero. And as it is undoubted, that the Gauls were remarkable for their strength, the Carthaginians for their cunning, and the Greeks for their knowledge of the arts, what reason have we to reject the testimony of Cicero in the other case, and to give no credit to him, when he represents the Spaniards as chiefly remarkable for populousness? †

Muscovy, Sweden, and Denmark, are so ill peopled at present, and so little is known about their ancient state, that we have scarce any reason to believe, that they either were or could be much worse peopled of old, than they are at

* Political Discourses, p. 252.

† We may observe, that Gaul was a country as, or nearly as, large as Spain, and that the Carthaginians were masters of very large dominions. According to Strabo (lib. 17.) at the beginning of the third Punic war, they were in possession of 300 cities in Libya; and the city of Carthage consisted of 700,000 inhabitants, when it was destroyed by the Romans. From whence it appears, that Cicero is speaking of the comparative populousness of Spain, and means to assert, not only that the Spaniards were very numerous, but that they were at least as numerous as other nations, in proportion to the extent of their country.

present.* Poland perhaps is better peopled than either it was in ancient, or it could be expected to be in our times, considering the badness of its government; both because tillage seems to have been anciently but little known in these parts of Europe, and because of the vast fertility of its lands, which at present yield great crops, notwithstanding the many disadvantages under which it labours.

The only country on the continent, of which we can with any certainty affirm, that it is more populous at present than it was anciently, is Germany: for, besides that agriculture was very much unknown among the old Germans, it is at present divided into a great many little states and principalities, a circumstance very favourable to its populousness; for each of these states has its own capital, and in many cases has only a small territory surrounding it: by which means, not only the lands around the capital, but even those which lie at a greater distance, are better cultivated and inhabited, than they either were of old, or could be at present, if the whole empire was subjected to the absolute authority of a single person. However, there is no reason to be so precise as our author,† and to determine, that it has twenty times more inhabitants than in ancient times; for this proportion seems truly to be very high.

* Political Discourses, p. 248.

† P. 248.

Mr Hume hath not made any conjectures concerning the numbers contained in Egyptian Thebes, Babylon, and Nineveh, which he reckons too much involved in the obscurity of ancient fables.* Thebes has been considered already.† And though we cannot affirm, that Babylon, one of the noblest cities which the sun ever beheld, was at any time fully inhabited, or peopled in proportion to its vast extent; yet, from the strain, in which both the sacred and profane authors of antiquity speak of it, we have the greatest reason to believe, that it contained a vast multitude of people.

We shall finish this survey of antient nations, with a calculation of the inhabitants of Nineveh. It will not be improper to conclude with it, since it is built on no less authority than that of sacred scripture itself.

According to the book of Jonah, there were 120,000 children in Nineveh, who could not discern between their right hand and their left hand.‡ Now, computing according to the proportion, which is, "from the most accurate observations, found to be most consistent with truth,§

* P. 219.

† Dissertation, p. 44.

‡ Jonah, iv. 11.

§ Lowthorp's Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 3. p. 671.

and reckoning such as were too young to discern between their right hand and their left, to be all those who were below two years of age complete, the inhabitants of Nineveh were 2,200,000; if they were all those who were below three, the inhabitants of Nineveh were more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions; if all below four; above 1,100,000; if all below five, they were more than 900,000. Thus populous was this *exceeding great city*,* the capital of the East, in times of such remote antiquity.

If Mr Hume had reflected on the vast populousness of Thebes, Nineveh, and some other ancient cities, he could never have been at so great a loss to understand that passage of Aristotle,† where the philosopher says, that, “a city cannot consist of so few inhabitants as ten, or of so many as 100,000.”‡ It is plain, that the meaning of this passage cannot be, what Mr Hume seems to apprehend, that there was no city in Aristotle’s time, which consisted of 100,000 inhabitants. For this great philosopher was too well acquainted with the history of mankind, and with the state of the world in his own time, ever to embrace so false an opinion. He is not here treating of the actual greatness of any city, that either had existed before, or was existing in his

* Jonah, iii. 3.

† Political Discourses, p. 240, 241.

‡ ‘Ουτε γὰρ ἐκ δέκα ἀνθρώπων γενοίτ’ ἂν πόλις ἔτε ἐκ δέκα μυριάδων ἔτε πόλις ἔσται. *Arist. Ethic.* lib. 9. cap. 10.

time, but is speaking of the numbers, which a well-ordered and regulated city *ought to* contain. The example of a city is brought to illustrate his doctrine concerning friendship, which Aristotle was of opinion could not be enjoyed in the most exalted manner, if one made choice of too many friends, because, in proportion as the number of one's friends is augmented, the just tone of the affection is destroyed, and its force too much weakened, by being divided among too many objects. In the same manner, a city cannot be rightly governed, if it contain too many inhabitants. This is the natural meaning of Aristotle, and I apprehend, his opinion is founded on good sense: for it seems plain, that a city might not only be more easily and better governed, and answer all the purposes of civil association better; but also, that its inhabitants would be more virtuous and happy, if it consisted of a smaller number than 100,000; and that cities consisting of a million, or half a million of inhabitants, are exposed to many disadvantages on this very account.

Indeed it may be said, that this objection lies as well against ancient as against modern times. For there were not only as great, but even much greater cities of old, than are at present. But we must remember, that the bulk of the ancients were employed in cultivating the earth, and in providing what may be called the necessities,

rather than the delicacies of life. From whence it necessarily followed, that there was a vast plenty, and, of course, an almost inconceivable cheapness of every thing which was necessary for the subsistence of man.

Besides, the business, in which the ancients were principally engaged, being simple, it would be long ere the taste of simplicity could entirely give place to that of luxury. So that great cities could not become destructive to populousness in ancient times, so soon as they do at present. However, it must be confessed, that mankind being associated together in vast numbers, did even in ancient times at last find out many inventions: and that by these the world was depopulated. From hence it appears, that modern cities and modern times have more powerful sources of depopulation within themselves, because of those numerous instruments of luxury, with which they are more abundantly supplied than ancient cities, or ancient times. So that they must sooner feel their bad effects, because the thoughts of their inhabitants are continually turned on improving former inventions, by finding out still newer and newer methods of heightening the elegance, delicacy, and luxury of life. All this is exactly agreeable to the truth of history, and to the progress of human affairs. For great cities were first established, and, of course, luxury was first invented and

carried to a great height in the East. So that there its bad effects were first felt. By it a new taste of life, a new set of manners, and an entirely new system of conduct, were introduced, which ruined the eastern world. But, at this time, there was little communication between the east and the west; and while the Asiatics were wallowing in pleasure, a simple taste prevailed in Europe. However, no sooner was a communication laid open by Alexander and his successors, but especially by the Romans, than a similar taste of life, a similar set of manners, and a similar system of conduct, were translated into the west. Of course, the western world began immediately to decline in numbers of people. There was a total annihilation of simple manners. The world was overwhelmed with a corrupted taste, and has never been able to repair its desolation.

It is a true, though a trite saying of an ancient sage, *Ne quid nimis*. For there seems to be fixed in nature a certain boundary, and just standard, by which every thing either is, or ought to be limited. Thus cities, by growing too large, become destructive; and empires, by being too extensive, become unwieldy. Nay, the admiration of wisdom and virtue themselves, may grow excessive. We may be righteous over much, and may make ourselves over wise. No wonder then, that there should be a just standard in elegance and magnificence, and that

there should be a limit, beyond which the pursuit of beauty in sensible objects must become pernicious.

In general, it must be confessed, that a taste of beauty, and a desire of grandeur in objects of this kind, must have been highly advantageous at first, and must have contributed greatly to render human life agreeable and commodious. But it is difficult to ascertain the proper boundary within which it ought to be confined in theory; it is much more difficult not to transgress it in practice. Happy should we be! happy should be society! could we find out and preserve that golden mediocrity, which in a great measure constitutes the peace and tranquillity of human life.

As this taste is natural to mankind, we can hardly suppose even the most wild and most uncultivated state, without some sort of refinement: for men can hardly be supposed to exist, and at the same time to have no more than what is absolutely necessary for the support of life. Of course we cannot go back to any age so distant, in which we shall not find some traces of this kind.

However, if elegance comes short of the just standard, and is not as yet arrived at its proper maturity, human life must necessarily be deprived of the enjoyment of many conveniencies of which it is capable, and the manners of mankind must incline towards fierceness and superstition. If

carried no farther than the just limit, it produces a more commodious method of living, gives rise to the invention of many true refinements, heightens the splendour and magnificence of society, tends to render mankind social and humane, begets mildness and moderation in the tempers and actions of men, and helps to banish ignorance and superstition out of the world; and thus far it contributes to the perfection of human society. But so soon as it o'erleaps the proper limit, it introduces effeminacy and softness among mankind, creates too keen an appetite, as well as inspires too constant a pursuit, and excites to an excessive enjoyment of sensual pleasure; it enervates both the mind and the body, makes men less sensible of true glory, and less desirous of true honour; it weakens their martial spirit; it renders them less capable of preserving, or of defending the liberties of their country; it excites an insatiable thirst of gold; and, by inspiring a slavish, dependent, and venal disposition, paves the way to much dishonesty, to debauchery, to bribery, to corruption; nay even to impiety. From whence, as it happened both in Greece and Rome, the citizens being seduced by ambitious leaders, prove the instruments of sedition and of civil war, attended at last with the extinction of virtue, the loss of liberty, and universal ruin.

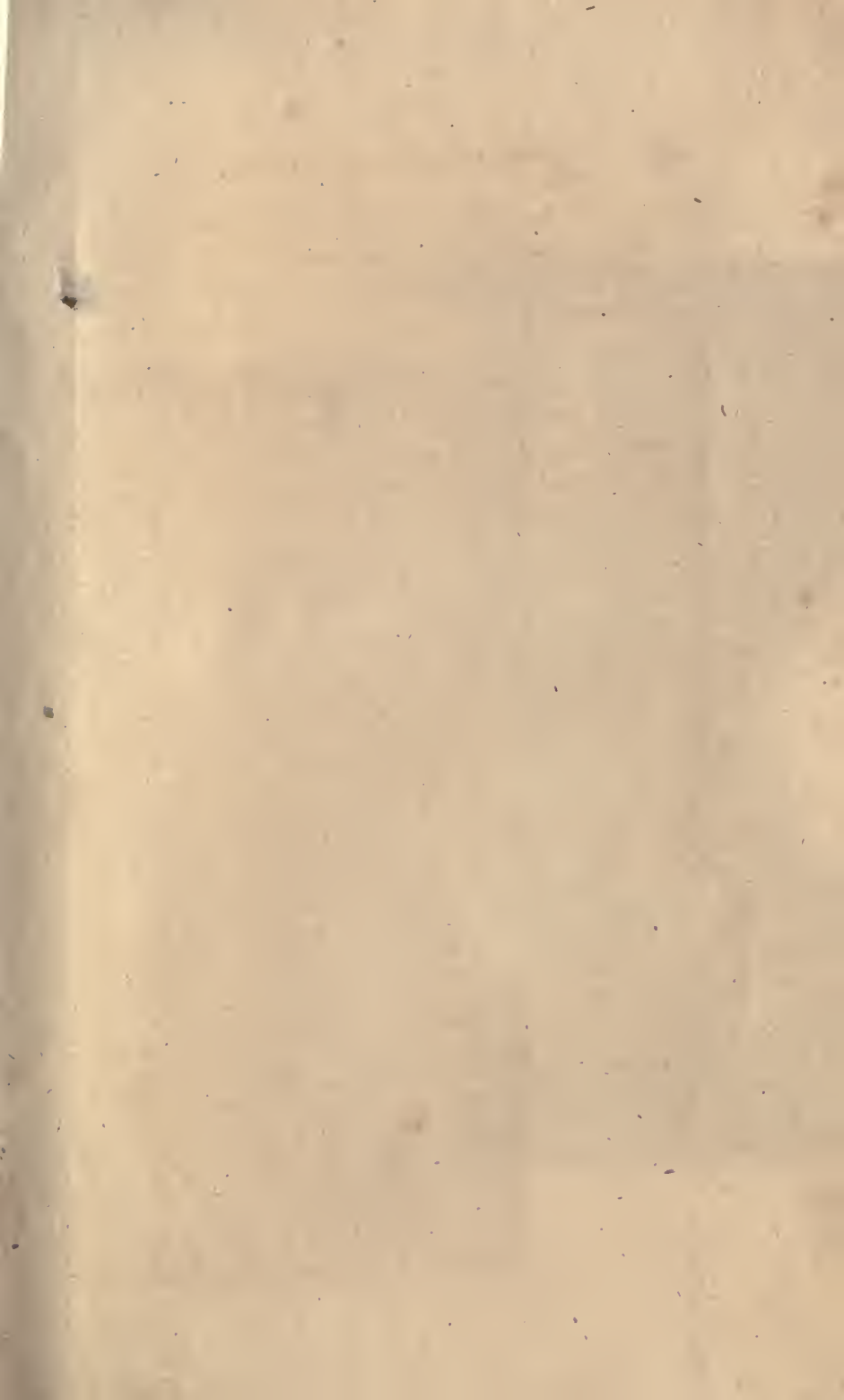
In short, it insensibly weakens the relish of intellectual and moral beauty; it makes men less

concerned about their conduct in life, and provided they may enjoy what is courted and pursued by the bulk of a luxurious age, makes them more regardless of preserving their integrity. It introduces numberless superfluities and wants, the satisfaction of which is preferred to the discharge of the most important duties. It must of course prevent marriage, give check to the increase of mankind, and hinder millions from ever seeing the light.

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